# UN Chronicle

March 1991
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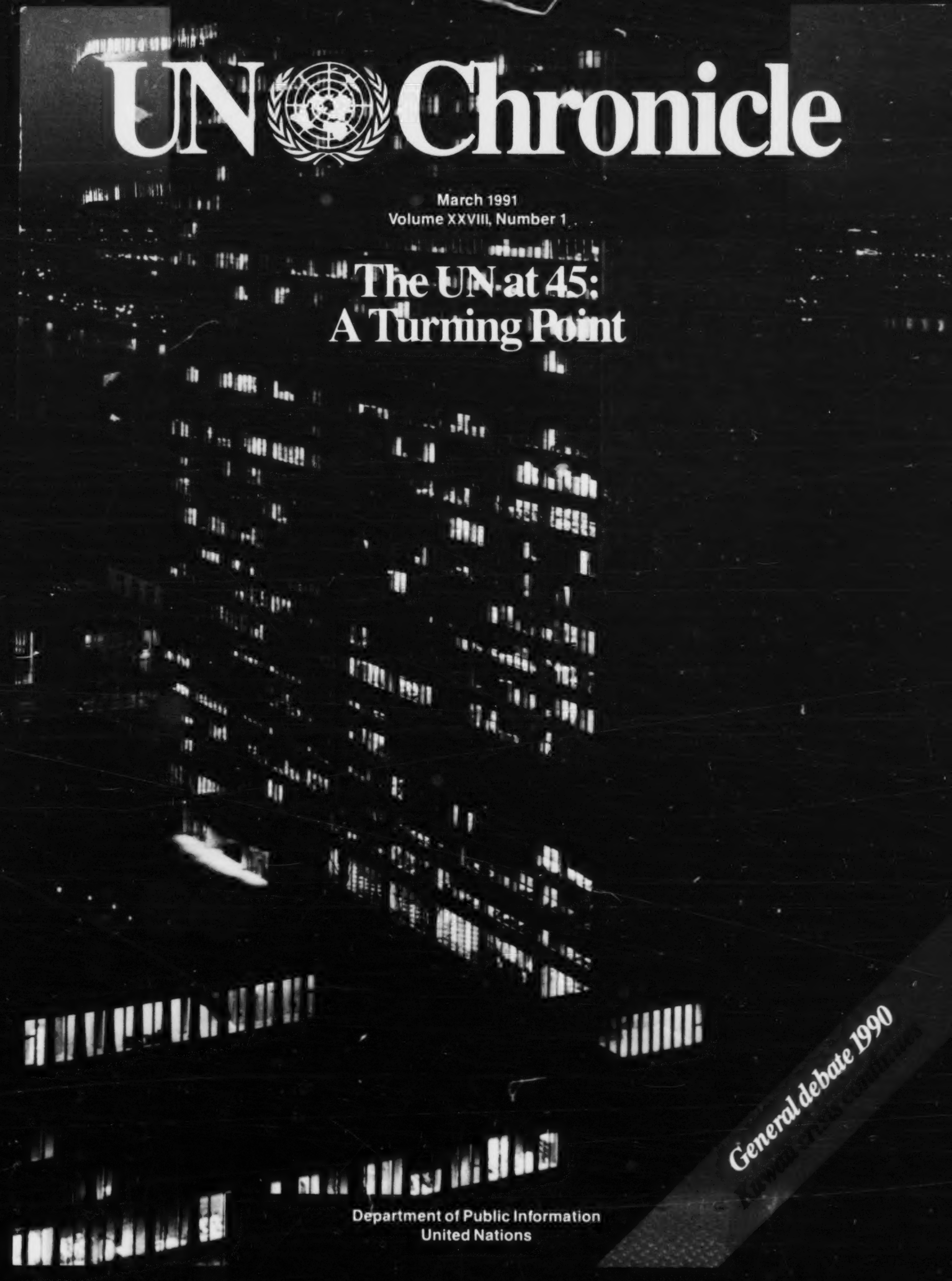
## The UN at 45: A Turning Point



General debate 1990
Kuwait crisis continues

Department of Public Information
United Nations

# A turning point . . .

"The United Nations enters the post-cold war era as a central point of constancy in the midst of flux", Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar told the forty-fifth General Assembly. At 45, the world Organization is entering the Janus-faced post-cold war period—one that "wears both the aspect of hope and the countenance of dangerous unrestraint"—with enhanced relevance and authority. The concept of global security now emerging is precisely the one the UN has been expounding all throughout its existence. "What often sounded a voice in the wilderness has now gained a volume and resonance it lacked before." At 45, what some are already calling "a second-generation UN" is seen, as Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar puts it, "as a centre of agreement and decision, a barrier against chaos in international relations and the one institution which can best assure that the actions of nations are governed by international law and respond to the demands of justice".

In his end-of-the-year message on 26 December, the Secretary-General said: "The United Nations has long been a principal deliberative forum; increasingly, it has become a vehicle for operation and action. We are adapting our structures and attitudes to new perceptions of our role in a changed world. That process must and will continue."

**Cover photo by Yutaka Nagata (UN Photo 103905).**

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# UN CHRONICLE

## A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XXVIII Number 1 March 1991

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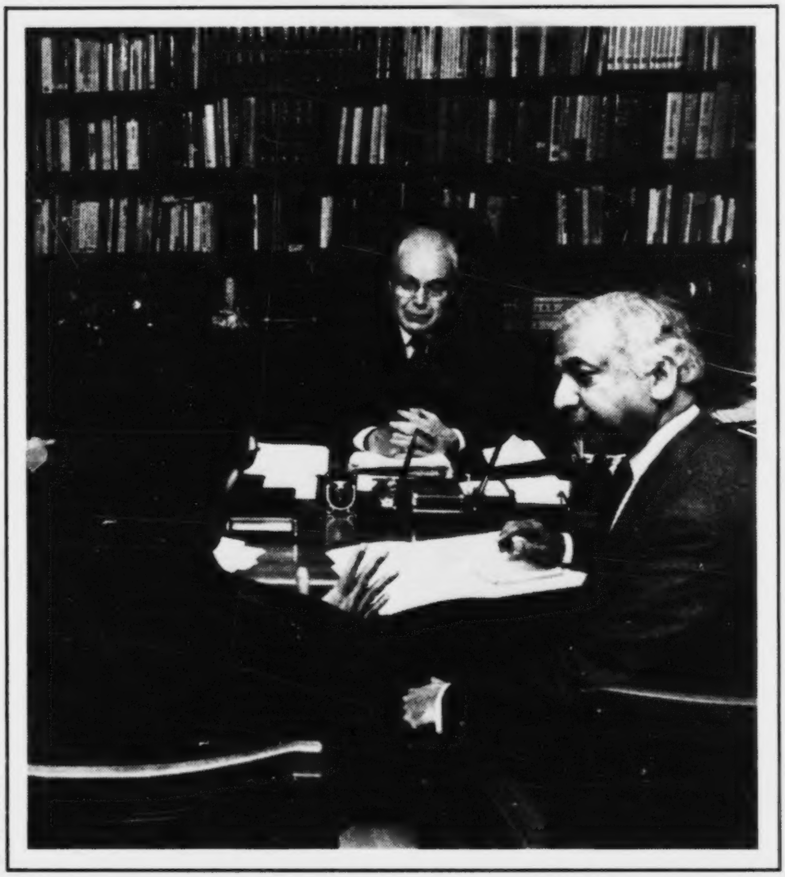
# THE 38th FLOOR

Excerpts from statements by UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar made between 1 October and 31 December 1990



UN 177179/M. Grant

**Conferring with top aides in 38th floor office.**

## Towards centre stage...

United Nations Day comes this year after possibly the most historic 12-month period in the life of our Organization. It has been a period of solid accomplishment.

It is, however, the very nature of our vocation that we can never be permitted to rest on our laurels. A restless, rapidly changing world situation permits no complacent simplifications. Then again, the persistence of some old conflicts that gravely threaten peace and the eruption of the crisis resulting from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, with its incalculable consequences, subject the Organization to a severe test. What is being tested is nothing less than the Organization's capacity to establish the rule of law in international relations and its consistence in applying its principles.

Moreover, we cannot forget that while the "Iron Curtain" has been brought down, the poverty curtain still separates two parts of the world community. A new global dispensation will remain more a hope than a reality as long as the anxieties and strains caused by the disparity between the rich and the poor societies remains unremedied. Nor is such an order compatible with frequent and often massive violations of human rights.

What we have to bear in mind is that the more the United Nations is moved to the centre of the stage in the conduct of world affairs, the higher is the level of our responsibility and the more exacting will be the tasks laid on us. Given the dedication of all who work for the United Nations, I have no doubt that this thought will act as a spur rather than a bridle on our efforts.

*United Nations Day Message,*
*New York, 24 October*

## Decolonization: Unique problems remain

As a result of the process of decolonization, today the United Nations is a far more representative and stronger body than it was three decades ago. As such, it is better equipped to provide a collective approach to the urgent tasks which still confront the international community.

While we take pride in past achievements, the United Nations continues to uphold its commitment to the political, economic and social advancement of the remaining 18 Non-Self-Governing Territories. Most of them are in the Pacific and Caribbean regions and have unique problems on account of their small size and population, geographical remoteness, isolation and limited natural resources. The objectives set forth in the Declaration continue to be as applicable to them today as they were when that historic document was adopted.

*At the Special Meeting in Observance*
*of 30th Anniversary of Decolonization Declaration,*
*New York, 10 October*

## Forty years of technical co-operation

When the system for multilateral technical co-operation was created 40 years ago, few could have foreseen the magnitude of the task ahead or how technical co-operation would evolve. In 1950, fewer than 10 implementing agencies of the United Nations system were providing their intellectual and administrative support to multilateral technical co-operation. Today, the number is over 30. The comparative advantage of the United Nations system is in large measure a result of the work of these organizations which provide universal access to skills, technology and resources. The neutral nature of the assistance, provided in the form of grants, and its universality continue to be the core of the United Nations development system.

*Marking the 40th Anniversary of Technical Co-operation*
*for Development in the UN System,*
*New York, 24 October*

## Refugees continue to flee

We are living through times of momentous political change. It is a time of unparalleled opportunity, but also one of great uncertainty. Hopes of a post-cold war world free of conflict have recently been clouded by the crisis in the Persian Gulf, while young democracies are being challenged by far-reaching social and economic problems. Meanwhile, large numbers of refugees continue to flee from their countries into exile, often causing unbearable costs to neighbouring States. The movements of people triggered by persecution or conflict are also increasingly complicated by migratory trends resulting from the growing economic disparity between regions and continents, or from environmental decline. Unless such developments are managed with care, they can pose grave threats to peace.

*On the 40th Anniversary of the Office of the United Nations*
*High Commissioner for Refugees,*
*New York, 14 December*

## Building confidence and security in Europe

One of the hallmarks of the CSCE process has been the constructive spirit at work in the design of a wide variety of measures to build confidence and security among European countries. Such measures, once thought to be rather peripheral to real security needs, are now seen to have paved the way for arms reduction in Europe by fostering openness and predictability.

I warmly welcome the Treaty on Conventional Forces which shows that reduction of conventional arms, far from being an utopian goal, can be carried out in a co-operative and stabilizing fashion. It will be followed, I hope, by agreements on restraints on the transfer of conventional arms to developing countries, thus providing a valuable guide for future actions of other States elsewhere. We cannot forget recent experiences.

*At a meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe,*
*Paris, 19 November*

More thought, less rhetoric

# Assembly agrees on major human rights, development issues

## *Persian Gulf area crisis darkens debate*

UN Photo 176519/M. Grant

The faces of the peoples of the world, seen daily in the General Assembly Hall.

***In a session overshadowed in the public eye by the dramatic crisis triggered by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the General Assembly has agreed on a number of major human rights and development issues that should have a lasting impact on the way people all over the world live beyond this century.***

***A paradoxical mixture of apprehension and hope pervaded the forty-fifth session. Worries about the situation in the Persian Gulf area vied with jubilation at the end of the cold war and the democratization of Eastern Europe. But even that was tempered by the realization that integrating those countries into the world economy would be painful for them and, as many third world countries feared, especially for the poorest nations.***

***It was the first Assembly session in more than four decades in which Eastern European nations did not vote as a bloc and the first in which the German nation was represented by one German State, after 45 years of division.***

"The first Assembly session in the post-cold-war era" as Assembly President Guido de Marco of Malta described it, was "a peaceful session . . . marked by a rising tide of consensus decisions." There were "fewer meetings, fewer debates, fewer votes", Mr. de Marco told the press on 14 December.

A similar assessment was made by Under-Secretary General for Political and General Assembly Affairs Ronald I. Spiers: "Except on the Palestinian question, the post-cold war spirit was much in evidence . . . Discussions have become more thoughtful and fact-oriented, less slogan-ridden, less rhetorical."

To help wipe out poverty and underdevelopment everywhere, the Assembly proclaimed a Fourth United Nations Development Decade, starting on 1 January 1991. A comprehensive six-part International Development Strategy will serve as blueprint for action during the Decade.

After 10 years of arduous negotiations, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families was unanimously adopted and opened for signature. The 93-article human rights intrument will protect millions of migrant workers worldwide, including undocumented workers.

Action to formulate a climate convention was taken. The first negotiating session was to take place in February 1991 in Washington, D.C., to which all countries were invited. The goal is to open the convention for signature at the UN Environment and Development Conference, which the Assembly decided is to be held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from 1 to 12 June 1992.

The International Year for the World's Indigenous People, 1993 was proclaimed. Its focus is to help indigenous communities solve human rights, environment, development, education and health problems.

UN Photo 176105/J Isaac

The Assembly decided to call two major global conferences: one on human rights; the other on women's issues.

For the first time, the UN will convene a World Conference on Human Rights. The landmark, high-level meeting planned for 1993 will recommend specific steps to the Organization, so that it can better ensure respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

A fourth international conference for women will be held in 1995, possibly in Vienna, Austria. It will try to re-energize progress towards equality for women worldwide, which the UN says has slowed down or stopped in recent years.

**President de Marco *(right)* receiving the traditional gavel from the Secretary-General.**

**The Newest UN Member**

UN Photo 176723/M. Grant

**Claudia Fritsche of Liechtenstein *(second left)* became the newest woman Ambassador at the UN.**

## Other achievements

The Assembly had the rare opportunity both to adopt an important measure—authorization of UN aid for Haiti's free and democratic elections—and see it come to full fruition, all within the same session. Electoral aid was approved on 10 October. On 21 December, the Assembly moved to launch a special emergency assistance programme for that impoverished Caribbean country, only five days after voters chose a democratically-elected President in a process closely watched by the UN Observer Group for the Verification of the Elections in Haiti.

The Haiti operation was "a pathsetter", Under-Secretary-General Spiers said. It opened "what may be an important new area of activity for the UN, an important potential function".

The World Summit for Children brought to UN Headquarters 71 Heads of States and Government on 29 and 30 September. The Assembly urged the international community to throw its weight behind the Summit's Declaration and Plan of Action—a moral and practical commitment to save and improve the lives of children everywhere.

The tiny principality of Liechtenstein became the Organization's newest Member State.

Twenty-seven Heads of State—a record number—attended the 45th session, along with 15 Prime Ministers, 8 Deputy Prime Ministers and 86 Foreign Ministers.

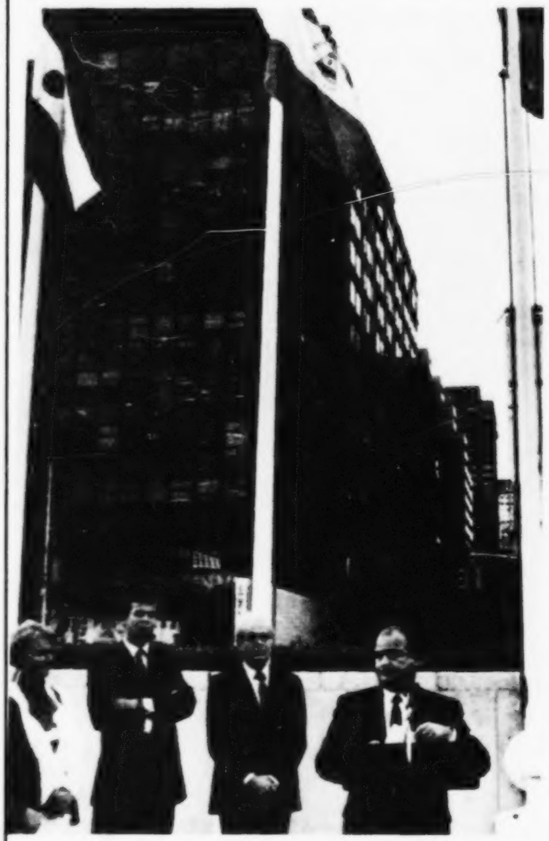
The trend towards consensus was strong for the third consecutive year, with more than 74 per cent of all resolutions—a total of 332—adopted without a vote, compared to 65 per cent in 1989 and 58 per cent in 1988.

## Major political issues

As expected, issues on the Middle East, Cambodia, Western Sahara, Afghanistan, South Africa and Central America topped the political agenda.

Although the crisis in the Persian Gulf area and, in particular, its implications for the future of the Middle East dominated general debate statements, the only official Assembly action was resolution 45/170, by which it condemned Iraqi authorities for serious violations of human rights in Kuwait.

Iraq, the only country to vote against the resolution, had earlier failed in an attempt to introduce a new item on the Assembly agenda, entitled "United States



**Raising the flag of Liechtenstein on 18 September.**

UN Photo 176163/M. Grant

military concentrations in the Arabian Gulf region: threats to Arab and international peace and security".

Once again, the Assembly called for an international peace conference on the Middle East to be held under UN auspices and again the vote was 144 in favour to 2 against—Israel and the United States—with no abstentions.

None of the eight resolutions adopted on 6 and 13 December on the situation in the Middle East and the question of Palestine was agreed by consensus. On 26 November, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar reported to the Assembly that "prospects for progress in the Arab-Israeli peace process appear regrettably to have stalled".

In contrast, as part of an understanding among those directly concerned, there was no debate on Cambodia. A resolution urging all parties to the conflict to exercise maximum self-restraint to create the peaceful climate needed for a comprehensive political settlement was adopted without a vote on 15 October.

A breakthrough came later when the five permanent members of the Security Council—China, France, USSR, United Kingdom, United States—announced on 26 November in Paris that a consensus on a political settlement had been reached. The agreement paved the way for reconvening the Paris Conference on Cambodia at the ministerial level.

**The shadow of the Kuwait crisis fell across the Assembly proceedings. Diplomats crucially concerned with the situation, however, continued contacts at the UN.**

UN Photo 176422/J. Isaac

The Emir of Kuwait.

UN Photo 176756/M. Grant

Delegation of Iraq in Assembly Hall.

UN Photo 176640/M. Grant

Prince Saud Al-Faisal of Saudi Arabia *(left)*.

## A decisive stage

The question of Western Sahara had entered a decisive stage and a solution was well within reach, Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar reported on 18 October. The Assembly on 20 November urged him and the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to intensify efforts for holding a UN-organized and supervised self-determination referendum in that territory, in co-operation with the OAU.

After an extensive debate during which speakers took note of hopeful signs of evolution in South Africa but generally agreed that existing sanctions be maintained to keep on the pressure for change, eight resolutions on international efforts to eradicate *apartheid* were approved, two by consensus.

In one of the consensus texts, the Assembly noted that the process of change in South Africa was at an early stage and that further substantive progress must be made to promote the necesssary "profound and irreversible change".

A comprehensive political solution to the conflict in Afghanistan was unanimously called for by the Assembly. The need for "an early start of the intra-Afghan dialogue" for the establishment of a broad-based government was stressed. This should be done "through democratic procedures acceptable to the Afghan people including free and fair elections".

Continuing peace efforts in Central America were strongly backed by the Assembly in a wide-ranging consensus resolution.

The Assembly expressed "deep concern about the persistence of politically motivated violations of human rights in El Salvador", encouraged national reconciliation in Guatemala and extended through 1994 the Special Plan for Economic Co-operation for Central America launched in 1988, which has so far mobilized over $400 million in resources for that troubled region.

## Disarmament, security

The 1990s will be the Third Disarmament Decade, the Assembly declared on 4 December. "Strenuous efforts" were made in the First Committee (Political and Security) to reach common positions, its Chairman Jai Pratap Rana of Nepal said on 30 November, noting that almost half of the body's 54 resolutions had been adopted without a vote.

Resolutions dealt with nuclear tests, prevention of an arms race in outer space, conventional disarmament, prohibition of attacks on nuclear facilities, dumping radioactive wastes and production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes.

There was consensus on three resolutions on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. The Assembly strongly urged, "as a matter of highest priority" that the Conference on Disarmament intensify in 1991 efforts to conclude its negotiations on a convention prohibiting chemical weapons and destroying existing ones.

It also took note of "the continuing significance" of the 1988 Security Council decision to consider immediately "appropriate and effective measures" should there be any future use of chemical weapons in violation of international law.

The First Committee reviewed two new UN studies—a 106-page report on how the Organization can improve its disarmament verification capabilities and a 152-page report on nuclear weapons concluding that the threat of nuclear confrontation has diminished with the *rapprochement* between East and West.

A proposal to create a UN-sponsored scientific research station in Antarctica was considered and a study was requested. The station would focus in particular on global environmental concerns and climate change. The international community was urged "to support all efforts to ban prospecting and mining in and around Antarctica".

In a joint statement entitled "Responsibility for Peace and Security in the Changing World", issued on 3 October, the USSR and the United States declared that "the confrontational nature of relations between East and West is giving way to a co-operative relationship and partnership". They reaffirmed resolution 44/21 of 15 November 1989, by

UN Photo 177046/J. Isaac

**The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, led by conductor Jiri Belohlavek, performed at the UN Day Concert on 24 October.**

which the Assembly sought to strengthen the UN role in maintaining international peace and security. In a historic move, that text was jointly proposed to the Assembly by the two countries.

In a comprehensive resolution on UN peace-keeping operations adopted without a vote on 11 December, the Assembly encouraged studies on the possible application of high technology to peace-keeping operations.

**Prime Minister Obed Mfanyana Dlamini of Swaziland *(at left).***

UN Photo 176773/E. Debebe

## Economy: speaking with one voice

For the first time since 1986, the Assembly spoke with one voice regarding the debt crisis that is hitting hard most developing countries. In a 20-paragraph resolution *(45/124),* it called for immediate action to find a "durable, equitable and mutually agreed growth and development-oriented solution" to the problem.

In a 36-page report to the Assembly, Italy's former Prime Minister Bettino Craxi concluded that all creditors—banks, Governments and multilateral institutions—must participate in extricating developing countries and regions from the debt crisis. Mr. Craxi, who served for a year as the Secretary-General's Personal Representative on Debt since December 1989, made specific proposals in his report on how to deal with the crisis.

Only two of the 54 resolutions adopted by the Second Committee (Economic and Financial) were controversial enough to require a vote—one encouraged the development of entrepreneurship "in all countries"; the other contained several measures of assistance to the Palestinian people in the Israeli-occupied territories.

The 96 per cent consensus rate was a record, up from 79 per cent at the forty-fourth session.

The Assembly set up an *ad hoc* committee to recommend measures for Africa's growth and development beyond 1991. The committee, open to all countries, will first assess what has been achieved under the five-year UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990.

It also asked the Economic and Social Council to hold a special meeting at ministerial level to examine the impact of new East-West relations on the world economy.

The Assembly threw its weight behind the Declaration on International Economic Co-operation, in particular the Revitalization of Economic Growth and Development of the Developing Countries adopted by the Council in July, calling on all countries to implement it.

It also asked the Council to hold an informal meeting in 1991 on the report of the South Commission—*The Challenge to the South*—an independent study on the future of developing countries.

Other resolutions adopted dealt with trade, food, energy and economic assistance to more than a dozen developing countries.

## Improving life on earth

Aside from taking measures on global climate concerns, the Assembly reaffirmed its 1989 recommendation that a moratorium should be imposed on all large-scale pelagic driftnet fishing on the high seas by 30 June 1992. Preparations continued for the 1992 International Conference on Environment and Development.

**United States President and Mrs. Bush *(left)* greeting Secretary-General and Mrs. Pérez de Cuéllar.**

UN Photo 176565/J. Isaac

A proposal to create a task force on UN assistance to the area affected by the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident will be considered at the Assembly's request.

The Assembly also took steps to strengthen the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator, which, since early October 1990, has been centrally involved in humanitarian work in the Persian Gulf area. The international community was urged to implement fully the International Framework of Action for the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction (1990s).

UN Photo 176443/M. Grant

**Among the many Heads of States who came to New York was Patricio Aylwin Azocar, President of Chile *(second right).***

## A new High Commissioner

Mrs. Sadako Ogata of Japan was elected as UN High Commissioner for Refugees for a three-year period beginning on 1 January 1991. Resolutions on the situation of refugees in more than half a dozen countries were adopted. Operation Lifeline Sudan will continue bringing relief to Sudan, which has been affected by persistent natural disasters and armed conflict.

A package of 17 resolutions on crime prevention and criminal justice were adopted, including a number of model treaties and legal texts, previously approved by the Eighth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held in Havana, Cuba, in August and September 1990.

A UN International Drug Control Programme was created to bring under a single structure and leadership all of the Organization's activities in that area, which are currently divided among several units. The new Programme will be headed by an Under-Secretary-General and have its headquarters in Vienna.

The UN Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances entered into force on 11 November. The Assembly called for implementation of the Global Programme of Action against drugs and psychotropic substances, which was adopted at its seventeenth special session in February 1990.

Among the 45 texts on human rights issues adopted—a record number—were resolutions on the right to work, the right to own property, human rights and mass exoduses, racial discrimination, the use of mercenaries as a means to violate human rights, elimination of all forms of religious intolerance, torture and involuntary disappearances.

In one of several texts on the status of women, the Assembly urged Member States to eliminate legal and practical barriers to schooling for women of all ages.

UN Photo 177093/M. Grant

**Voting for five World Court judges *(see p.93).***

Other measures dealt with elderly people, youth, culture and education, and health issues such as the global fight against acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) and the need to concentrate population assistance on the neediest countries. A voluntary fund will be set up for the International Year of the Family, 1994.

The Third Committee, which dealt with most of the social, humanitarian and cultural issues, adopted by consensus 84 of its 94 resolutions.

## Other matters

The Assembly considered the status of the few remaining non-self-governing Territories against the backdrop of the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism (1990-1999).

In a special ceremony on 10 October, Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar said that since the Declaration's adoption in 1960, some 140 million people in 59 Territories in all regions of the world had been able to exercise their right to self-determination.

On 22 December, the Security Council voted to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement for three of the four entities comprising the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the United States since 1947.

A resolution condemning the acts of violence against diplomatic and consular missions, which only Iraq opposed, was one of 13 texts on legal matters adopted by the Assembly on the recommendation of its Sixth Committee. A programme of activities for the first three years of the UN Decade of International Law (1990-1999) was also adopted.

Reducing disparities in information flows between developed and developing countries, while reaffirming the principles of freedom of the press and freedom of information, and improving UN information activities were the objectives of two consensus resolutions adopted on 11 December.

The financial situation of the UN, which the Secretary-General said was still "extremely fragile", was the focus of attention of the Fifth Committee, which deals with internal administrative and budgetary matters. The Assembly urged all Members States to pay promptly and in full all assessed contributions.

The International Day of Peace was observed, as is the tradition, at the opening of the Assembly session. The tenth anniversary of the establishment of the University for Peace, which operates in Costa Rica, was remembered in a resolution supporting its work.

In a statement before the Assembly on 24 October marking the fortieth anniversary of Technical Co-operation for Development in the UN System, Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar asked for a rededication to peace and justice and a better future for all people.

The Assembly on 16 October granted observer status to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Consideration of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) question was deferred until the next Assembly session.

The seven main Assembly Committees were headed by Jai Pratap Rana of Nepal (First), Perezi Karukubiro-Kamunanwire of Uganda (Special Political Committee), George Papadatos of Greece (Second), Juan O. Somavia of Chile (Third), Martin Adouki of the Congo (Fourth), Ernest Besley Maycock of Barbados (Fifth) and Vaclav Mikulka of Czechoslovakia (Sixth).

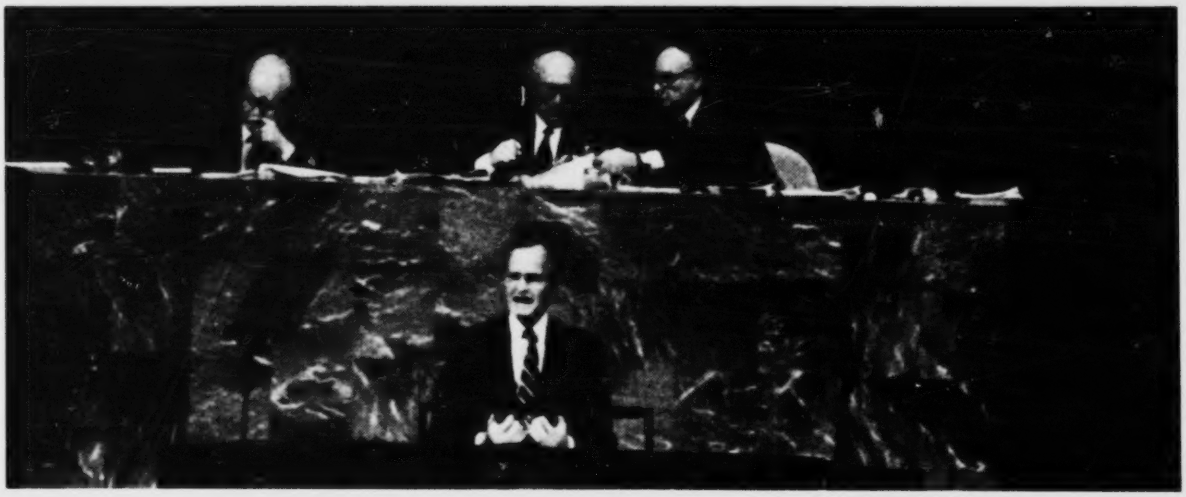
The resumed forty-fourth session ended on 17 September 1990 with the adoption of a resolution on *apartheid* in South Africa. The forty-fifth session began on 18 September and was suspended on 21 December.

UN Photo 176927/M. Grant

**Greeting the new Observer from the International Committee for the Red Cross, Jean-Paul Fallet *(at left).***

# The Nations Speak

**The crisis in the Persian Gulf area inevitably dominated the attention of all speakers and "somewhat blunted the Assembly's attention to other issues of major concern", General Assembly President Guido de Marco of Malta stated on 10 October as he closed the general debate, the traditional three-week period of major state-of-the-world political speeches that opens each session.**



UN Photo 178516/J. Isaac

United States President George Bush addressing the General Assembly on 1 October.

"Even so", Mr. de Marco added, "most speakers found time to look back upon the momentous events of the last 12 months". Prominent among such events were "the dramatic thrust of Eastern Europe towards liberty and democracy, culminating in the unification of Germany as a cogent symbol of a unified Europe" and southern Africa's "continuing march towards justice and freedom, reflected especially in the achievement of Namibian statehood and the release of Nelson Mandela".

Speakers had also focused on the steady progress towards a just and lasting settlement in Cambodia; the continuing democratization process in most of Central and Latin America; and the emergence of super-Power partnership, among other things, he said.

The general debate began on 24 September. Among the 155 speakers heard in plenary were 27 Heads of State—a record number—and 15 Prime Ministers.

# The Voice of Humanity

Almost every speaker demanded the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Many insisted on the need to continue collective efforts within the UN framework to resolve the crisis peacefully.

Although direct linkage between the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the question of Palestine was generally rejected, it was "clearly acknowledged", President de Marco said, that the "new high moral standard of action" set by the firm international reaction to the invasion should also be applied to solve the Palestine question and other outstanding problems in the Middle East.

While the end of the cold war and the democratization in Eastern Europe were universally hailed, many speakers from developing nations expressed anxiety over the possible diversion of development aid and investment from the third world to that region. "Solidarity with Central and Eastern Europe does not imply that we are turning away from the third world", Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of newly-unified Germany reassured them.

Each region brought its own inflection to the common world agenda.

Europeans tempered their justified elation and awe at the historic changes in their region with realistic analyses of the difficulties ahead in building market economies and "a common European house".

Latin American and Caribbean speakers were enthusiastic about democracy also taking hold in their region and the burgeoning subregional integration efforts, somewhat skeptical about the presumed cold-war payoff, and bitter about the crushing external debt burden and what President Fernando Collor of Brazil called "the perverse practices and mechanisms of protectionism and managed trade".

Feeling freed from the schisms of super-Power politics, Africans spoke candidly and realistically about their continent's overwhelming problems and their continuing political will to solve them.

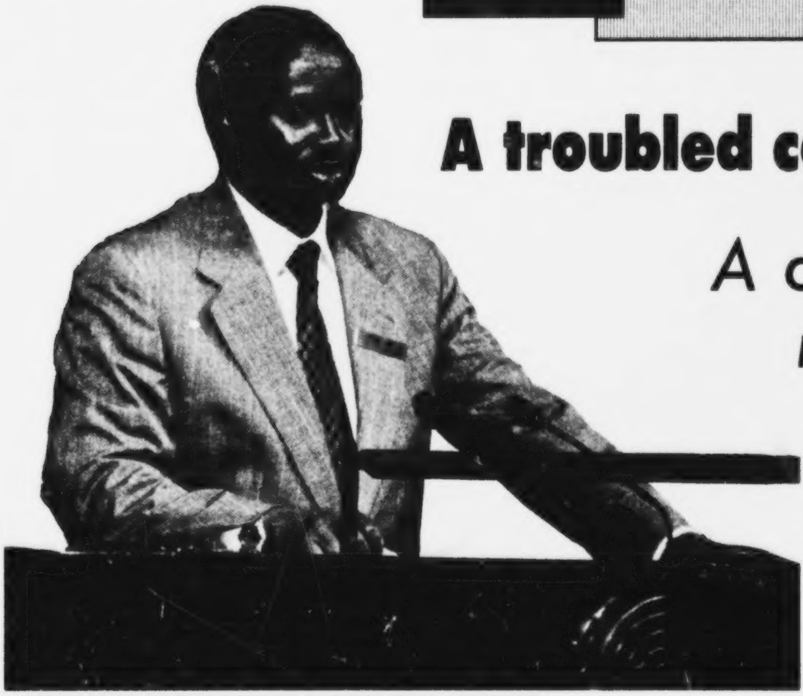
Issues related to Cambodia, Afghanistan, Cyprus, the eventual reunification of Korea, self-determination in New Caledonia, and least developed and island nations preoccupied many Asian and Pacific speakers.

If it had not been for the invasion of Kuwait, the Assembly President reflected, "the international community would, indeed, this year have had even more cause than last year to express satisfaction and optimism".

With a mixture of hope and anxiety, of realism and political fatigue, the Assembly debate allowed the voice of humanity to be heard loudly and clearly, with a message, Mr. de Marco termed, "of sanity, of justice, of fairness and of peace".

# A troubled continent . . .

## A candid, resolute voice



UN Photo 176561/J. Isaac

Uganda President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

Africa lost the 1980s. But the 1990s need not be another lost decade. The closing decade of the century has brought unusual candour to the African political body and a growing domestic resolve to do something about the continent's many problems. That was the consensus among African speakers in the general debate.

Uganda's President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), summed up the continent's newly resolute mood: "We brace ourselves as we look forward to making the twenty-first century one of memorable progress, when Africa becomes a continent of modern States."

A portrait of a troubled, abandoned continent also emerged from the general debate speeches. Grim and familiar statistics and the despairing legacy of despots, starving children and battlefront carnage from a number of flash-points directed attention to deep regression after a decade of worsening economic, social and political deprivation.

Hope was pinned on what speakers said was a positive change in the continent's political mood. Many felt that the single, most important factor that had triggered this African glasnost had been the declared end of the cold war—that rigid dichotomy that cleaved the world for almost half a century, making Africa a theatre of ideological warfare. Another important factor, others said, had been the world-wide realization of the planet's fragile ecological balance and acute economic interdependence.

Along with the continent's familiar pro-sanctions position regarding *apartheid* in South Africa, speakers focused on a host of other worrisome problems, ranging from the state of the economy to the crisis in the area of the Persian Gulf.

"The flow of foreign investment and capital into our economy has not matched our expectations and sacrifices", Nigerian Vice-President Augustus Aikhomu said. His statement reflected widespread disenchantment with the developed countries' perceived inaction in the face of the debt crisis and the lack of reciprocity with African countries that had embarked on painful structural adjustment programmes.

There were calls for outright cancellation of Africa's debt and the whole North/South configuration was questioned as being thoroughly inequitable.

It was feared that the "peace dividend"—the presumed material benefit to be derived from the end of the cold war—would be utilized almost exclusively for the emergent democracies of Eastern Europe to the detriment of Africa. Speakers noted the early signs of capital diversion to Eastern Europe and a displacement of Western interest in Africa's plight.

At the same time, there was a sense of urgency in the realization that Africans must help themselves. Some spoke of the need for Africa to put in place responsible democratic Governments.

# From the debate . . .

**ALGERIA** Foreign Minister Sid Ahmed Ghozali stated: "The vision that the United Nations has of the world cannot therefore be identified with that held by any particular State or group of States." Transcending strategies and interests defined in terms of restricted economic circles and exclusive military clubs, it is "by merging individual advantage and common cause that this noble work can be accomplished".

**ANGOLA** Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van Dunem said that the war situation in Angola was made worse by natural disasters, particularly the drought that had been affecting some central and southern regions of the country for about four years, with serious material damage and loss of human life. About 3.5 million people were in need of emergency food aid and 2.2 million of them were suffering the effects of the drought. Angola was unable to cope with that natural disaster by means of its own resources, and for that reason it was renewing its appeal for international aid.

**BENIN** Théophile Nata, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, said: "The reality today is that African States are being crushed by the burden of external debt, which has grown constantly over the years." Nevertheless, he paid tribute "to the praiseworthy efforts of certain creditor countries that have agreed to a partial deferral of forgiveness of certain debts of the third-world countries in general and of certain African debts in particular".

**BOTSWANA** Foreign Minister Gaositwe K.T. Chiepe said: "The new South Africa cannot be brought about in pools of innocent blood spilt by the crude weapons of tribalism, political factionalism and thuggery. Such a state of affairs can only retard, if not thwart, the process of change in South Africa." She added that "this applies also to those in the white community whose 'invisible hand' might be busy stoking the fires of a racial conflagration in a pernicious attempt to preserve the *status quo*".

UN Photo 178811/M. Grant

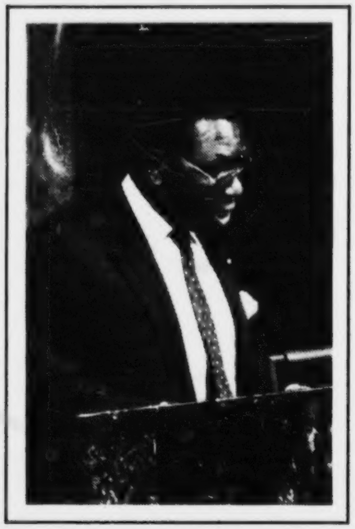
**BURKINA FASO** Foreign Minister Prosper Vokouma noted: "It is intolerable that today, in this era of abundance and technological successes that defy the imagination, more than a billion human beings live in absolute poverty; that as many—900 million adults and 100 million children—are illiterate; that 1.7 billion have no access to drinking water; that 800 million are hungry; that one child in three is malnourished; and that 14 million children die before the age of five."

**BURUNDI** Cyprien Mbonimpa, Minister for External Relations and Co-operation, said: "At this time, the poor non-oil-producing countries are finding themselves in an extremely grave crisis, which is destroying all their development efforts. The measures envisaged for countries considered to be the most affected should be extended to the poorest countries, where the crisis has worsened an already bad economic situation."

**CAMEROON** Foreign Minister Jacques Roger Booh-Booh said: "The present unprecedented situation of our continent has been exacerbated particularly by the external debt crisis, which absorbs the bulk of our countries' export earnings. That is why we continue to support all initiatives aimed at finding a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the debt problem." The UN could provide "a decisive impetus to this undertaking".

**CAPE VERDE** Foreign Minister Silvino Manuel da Luz believed that the ongoing political reforms in Africa "will greatly improve internal conditions for economic development in the continent. These courageous efforts by African countries should be supported with massive economic and financial assistance on the part of the developed countries that will help them consolidate their newly-created democratic institutions."

**CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC** Jean-Pierre Sohahong-Kombet, Permanent Representative to the UN, stated that the "never-equalled contribution of the Western States to those of the East, made with a view to stabilizing the democratic advances there," was indicative of the "spirit of solidarity we expect the world to show the States of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which are facing the harsh trials of destitution and poverty", and are drifting, "while the North turns a blind eye".


UN Photo 176809/M. Grant

**CHAD** Foreign Minister Acheikh Ibn Oumar said: "While democracy and human rights are central questions in development, what do human rights and industrial freedoms mean to starving people huddled together in destitution and ignorance"? To have some chance of success, political liberalization must be sustained and promoted by integrated economic development.

**COMOROS** Mtara Maecha, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, said that it was unfortunate "that the political détente between West and East has not yet given rise to economic détente between North and South. Indeed, international economic relations are still very unfair and impose on the weakest numerous burdens that are increasingly unbearable. The hope that the benefits expected from the growth of world economic output would, through the trickle-down effect, benefit the poorer countries also, has not been realized."

**CONGO** Antoine Ndinga-Oba, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, stated: "The movement towards greater freedom and democratization of political life also affects African societies. The establishment of free institutions has become a universal aspiration. It remains for each people to find the capacity to organize and to adapt those changes to its own level of development and in accordance with its own cultural values."

**DJIBOUTI** Moumin Bahdon Farah, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, said that "despite the presence of the largest number of foreign advisers per capita in the world", the economic and social conditions in Africa were "significantly worse than they were 15 years ago, given the substantial financial and technical assistance from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the developed countries". He raised questions about the relevance of current development strategies to Africa "where zero economic growth continues to be the rule".

**EGYPT** Foreign Minister Boutros B. Ghali said: "Given the deterioration of the situation and the heightening of tensions in the Gulf, we must never lose sight of another source of tension in the region, namely, Israel's continued occupation of the Arab lands and the increased suffering of the Arab people under that occupation." The inadmissibility of the acquisition of the lands of others by force was "an indivisible principle".

UN Photo 176796/J. Isaac

**EQUATORIAL GUINEA** Damaso-Obiang Ndong, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that the fact that his country still had only one political party was not a contradiction and should not be viewed as an unwillingness to allow the popular will to express itself. "Rather, it represents a preliminary educational and formative phase for the population to ensure that we do not repeat sorry past experience and that we mature in the process and interplay of democracy."

**ETHIOPIA** Tesfaye Dinka, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, said that despite a difficult situation, Ethiopia has "embarked upon a process of reform and restructuring" which included "promoting and encouraging the full participation of the private sector in the economy, managing the operations of State enterprises on a competitive basis, and encouraging foreign investment in various fields". The goal was to stimulate economic growth and national productivity, but those objectives could only be achieved "within the context of a supportive international economic climate".

**GABON** Ali Bongo, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, raised some questions about Africa's small role in international trade: "How can we stop playing the simple role of producer of commodities, to which we are restricted? How can we ensure equilibrium in the balance of payments and the renewal of export income?" It was urgent that there be agreement on an equitable and final solution to the problem of debt, an increase in the resources allotted to development, co-ordination of national macro-economic policies and promotion of a system of international trade negotiation.

UN Photo 176393/M. Grant

**GAMBIA** Foreign Minister Omar B. Sey hoped that the international community, particularly the UN and the Organization of African Unity, would continue to support the peace plan to end civil war in Liberia launched in August 1990 by the Heads of State and Government of the Standing Committee of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which was "the only viable alternative to continued bloodshed and destruction of property".

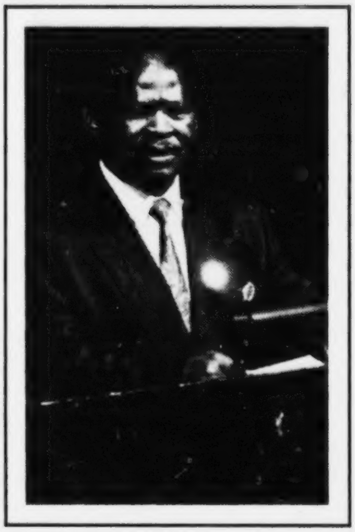
**GHANA** Foreign Minister Obed Y. Asamoah noted "the double standards, particularly on the part of the West, are as revealing as they are unacceptable. The willingness to rush into action at the annexation of Kuwait contrasts sharply with the condoning of, and inaction over, Israel's occupation of Arab lands and with the benign neglect of Liberia. Again, for years, the Western countries have contended that economic sanctions would not work against South Africa. Suddenly, the same countries are eager to apply sanctions against Iraq."

**GUINEA** Foreign Minister Jean Traoré said "the well-established triangular relationship between disarmament, development and security remains very timely in a period of acute crisis and deprivation when material and financial resources must be mobilized and directed towards development". Without disregarding co-operation with the industrialized nations, poor countries should promote South-South co-operation "as a special tool for ensuring collective self-reliance and self-sufficiency in food".

**GUINEA-BISSAU** President Joao Bernardo Vieira said that "profound political changes are causing upheaval throughout the world. They are marked by the end of the cold war and the establishment of constructive dialogue among nations. However, the process of détente and the strengthening of world peace is a complex and long one, and should be viewed as a permanent task for all our countries."

**KENYA** Wilson Ndolo Ayah, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, said that "while developing countries welcome the changes in Eastern Europe, they are apprehensive that resources will be diverted to that region at the expense of the developing countries. It is reassuring, however, that developed countries reiterated their commitments to assist the South and said that they would not reduce the current financial resources."

**LESOTHO** Justin Metsing Lekhanya, Chairman of the Military Council and Council of Ministers, noted that "the structural adjustment programmes undertaken by most African countries under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, in most cases at heavy political and social cost, have yet to yield significant results". Despite individual and collective efforts to rehabilitate the economies of the developing world, the socio-economic situation was worsening, particularly in Africa.



UN Photo 176851/M. Grant

**LIBERIA** William Bull, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that his country was experiencing "a brutal and devastating civil war" which had left Liberia "virtually destroyed". Recent events there "should teach us that political change through violence only perpetuates a circle of violence and that the best hope for the country lies in the development and protection of its democratic institutions".

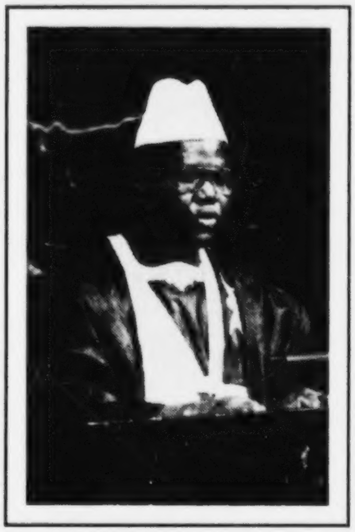
**LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA** Jadallah Azouz El-Talhi, Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Co-operation, said that "the problem of Palestine is one of the most dangerous problems that poses a threat to international peace". He added that "it is the root cause of a perpetual ongoing conflict between East and West, Islam and Christianity and the North and the South. It is the direct cause of what is called terrorism, the taking of hostages and other acts of violence."

**MADAGASCAR** Foreign Minister Jean Bemananjara said that "the embargo and the drying-up of oil supplies now needed for the sophisticated armada in the Gulf region, and the erratic increases in petroleum and petroleum-product prices further exacerbate the difficulties facing third-world countries in their development efforts and deflects industrial countries' aid from its intended targets".

UN Photo 176777/M. Grant

**MALAWI** Dalton S. Katopola, Minister of Transport and Communications, expressed disappointment that "the developed countries once again resisted proposals aimed at addressing directly the debt crisis, the existing trade imbalances and barriers, low commodity prices and the need for substantial transfers of technology to developing countries. Instead, they insisted again on prescribing formulas that have already proved either inappropriate or ineffective, while at the same time introducing new conditions for granting aid."

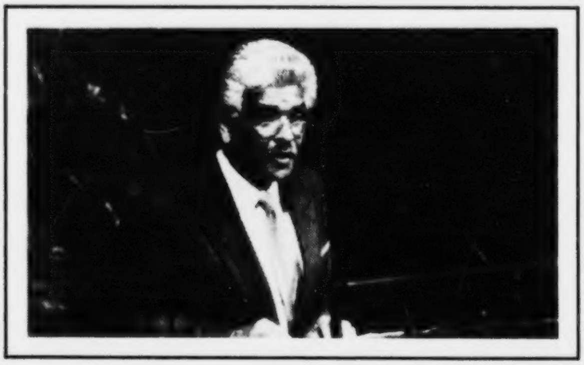
**MALI** N'Golo Traoré, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, said that "in most countries the debt burden is a major obstacle in the way of development, and there must be a comprehensive approach to the debt crisis. The various measures taken to lighten external indebtedness, though significant, should be expanded and revised in such a way as to take into account the need for growth and development in the debtor countries."



UN Photo 176920/M. Grant

**MAURITANIA** Hasni Ould Didi, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, explained Mauritania's democratic efforts and institution building. For that purpose, "free and democratic elections were organized in the course of the past four years to elect representatives to run local affairs". Elections would take place throughout the country before the end of the year. "These elections are an important step towards the shouldering by the people of their national responsibilities in conducting their affairs democratically."

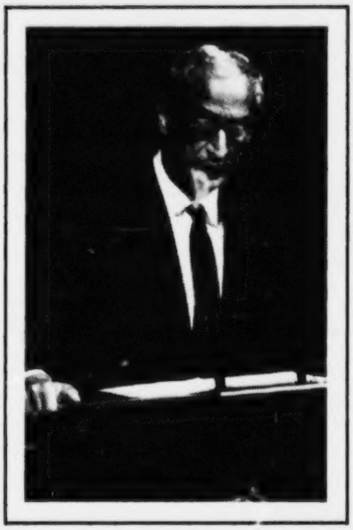
**MAURITIUS** Foreign Minister Jean Claude G. Raoul de L'Estrac said that "we should not lose sight of the relationship between disarmament and development". It was known that developing



UN Photo 176839/M. Grant

countries spend some $200 billion a year, representing some 20 per cent of their budget, on armaments. "It is a waste of resources when one considers that there is a negative outflow of some $50 billion a year from developing nations for debt servicing alone. Such a situation cannot be allowed to continue. The solution is as much a political as an economic one."

**MOROCCO** Abdellatif Filali, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, noted that "more than 23 years have elapsed since Israel occupied the Arab-occupied territories. Consistently, through that period, the international community and the United Nations have failed, owing to Israel's intransigence, to implement the resolutions they have adopted with a view to bringing that occupation to an end." The immigration of thousands of Soviet Jews to the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories had further complicated the situation.



UN Photo 178638/J. Isaac

**MOZAMBIQUE** President Joaquim Alberto Chissano noted that efforts made by his Government with international support "to save the lives of millions of Mozambicans in an emergency situation" have been hampered by armed action against populations and economic and social targets launched by the Resistencia Nacional de Moçambique (RENAMO). "Our commitment to defend our country does not prevent the Government from seeking peaceful ways of putting an end to the war, as we believe that everything should be done to bring about an honourable and dignifying peace in our country."

**NAMIBIA** President Sam Nujoma said that since independence earlier in 1990, his Government had already been able "to ensure peace within our borders, create confidence about the future among all Namibians, and set an agenda for national reconstruction. All of this we have been able to do in spite of the recent past in Namibia, characterized by racial conflict and war." Namibia's "young democracy and multi-party system are steadily moving forward and giving our people hope that the political monsters of the past are gone for good".

UN Photo 178426/J. Isaac

**President Nujoma**

**NIGER** Mahamane Sani Bako, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, said that it was frustrating "to note the state of the world and the existence of the striking, not to say the revolting, paradox of the exponential growth of military budgets and arsenals, on the one hand, and the poverty and chronic misery of the majority of the people of the world, on the other". The 1980s were "a lost decade for the development of the third world". He hoped that the Fourth UN Development Decade would bring innovative answers to the earnest questions of the poor.

**NIGERIA** Vice-President Augustus Aikhomu expressed hope that "the United Nations will now reflect not only the new realities in world affairs, but will also embark on equitable geographical representation at the highest level of the Organization. Indeed, the time has come for the United Nations to be restructured to give Africa a permanent seat in the Security Council."

UN Photo 178508/E. Debebe

**RWANDA** President Juvenal Habyarimana said: "An effective programme of economic recovery and growth must be concerned with rewarding the management and economic-recovery efforts made by countries, instead of merely being limited to prescribing immediate miracle-working recipes. The experience of several sub-Saharan countries in this sphere shows us that it is important to establish programmes that are suited to the realities and specific conditions of each country and, above all, are drawn up with the assistance of the recipient countries and populations."

**SENEGAL** Foreign Minister Seydina Oumar Sy noted that for the first time in the history of mankind, an entire continent—Africa—had seen its living standards decreasing for more than 15 years, at a time when the world was at peace. "Without any doubt the debt problem is the most serious test of our determination to avoid the errors of the 1980s, of our willingness to make the 1990s a genuine development decade and of our ability to use the dividends of détente for the benefit of all humanity."

**SEYCHELLES** Danielle de St. Jorre, Minister for Planning and Foreign Affairs, said "the initiative of buying back part of the debt of a country in return for the implementation of conservation programmes is an innovative approach which deserves to be put into practice more often. None the less, we believe that in practice it has proven to be somewhat discriminatory, since thus far only certain countries have been able to benefit from this measure."

UN Photo 176195/M. Grant

**SIERRA LEONE** Foreign Minister Abdul Karim Koroma said that "for many of the countries of the third world, deep in the morass of conflict and poverty, the journey from a rural agrarian environment to a highly literate industrialized society may span many generations. And although it is a journey that is slowly being made by many nations today, it cannot be fully achieved without the sensitivity and assistance of the advanced countries of the North."

**SOMALIA** Foreign Minister Ahmed Mohamed Adan stated that "the problems of debt rescheduling and the net transfer of resources from developing to developed countries are closely linked to the problem facing the developing countries in the field of international trade. A viable and effective debt strategy would also need to provide for sustainable growth in developing countries, including in-depth measures designed to increase their export earning capacity."

**SUDAN** Omer Hassan Ahmed Al-Bashir, President of the National Salvation Revolution Command Council, affirmed that the "development of the developing countries is first and foremost the responsibility of those countries. We have held to that commitment, but we continue to believe that international support is necessary in the process of development and of raising the standard of living in those countries."

UN Photo 176609/J. Isaac

**SWAZILAND** Prime Minister Obed Mfanyana Dlamini stated that "the protection of our environment deserves to be given the highest priority at a global level. The international community has constantly been warned of the enormous dangers posed by mindless destruction of our beloved planet in the quest for national development. Danger signals are already flashing—clamouring for concerted action by the world community to curb those activities that degrade the environment."

**TOGO** Yoavi Adodo, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, said that "the burden of the economic crisis by which the world has been beset for two decades is not borne equally by the wealthy and the poor countries. The confusion and disarray created by an anachronistic international economic system based, among other things, on rules that work to the exclusive advantage of the developed countries, are genuine obstacles to economic growth development in the developing countries."

**TUNISIA** Foreign Minister Habib Boulares noted that "now that the growing interdependence of nations is broadly acknowledged, we must identify the ways and means of managing that interdependence in order to take into greater account the aspirations and legitimate concerns of all. Thus, the recent developments towards economic integration agreements and free-trade zones continue to arouse both hope and concern, given the challenges faced by less productive trade partners."

**UGANDA** President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni said that "it is clear that the industrialized countries need to pay more than lip service to the doctrines of market economics. The advocacy of the market economy so generously proffered by the media and vigourously reinforced by the multilateral institutions would be more easily accepted if the international markets for our products were actually free and fair. It is incredibly insensitive to insist that we should obey the laws of the market when the only sure result so far is that those markets have consistently devalued our products."

**UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA** Anthony B. Nyakyi, Permanent Representative to the UN, while congratulating the Security Council over its handling of the Gulf crisis, said that "it would be most heartening to know that such speed and resolve will be manifested when in the future the Council is confronted with similar threats to peace and security. This has not happened in the case of efforts to enforce the arms embargo against the racist régime in South Africa . . . If this is not a case of double standards, what is it?"

UN Photo 176791/J. Isaac

**ZAIRE** Foreign Minister Mushobekwa Kalimba wa Katana said that it should be stated that "no linkage should be attempted between aid and democracy in Africa, for that might draw the economic, trading and co-operation relations between Africa and its foreign partners into a new style of international relations. It was solely the political will of the Zairian people that underlay the adoption of a multi-party system.

UN Photo 176598/J. Isaac

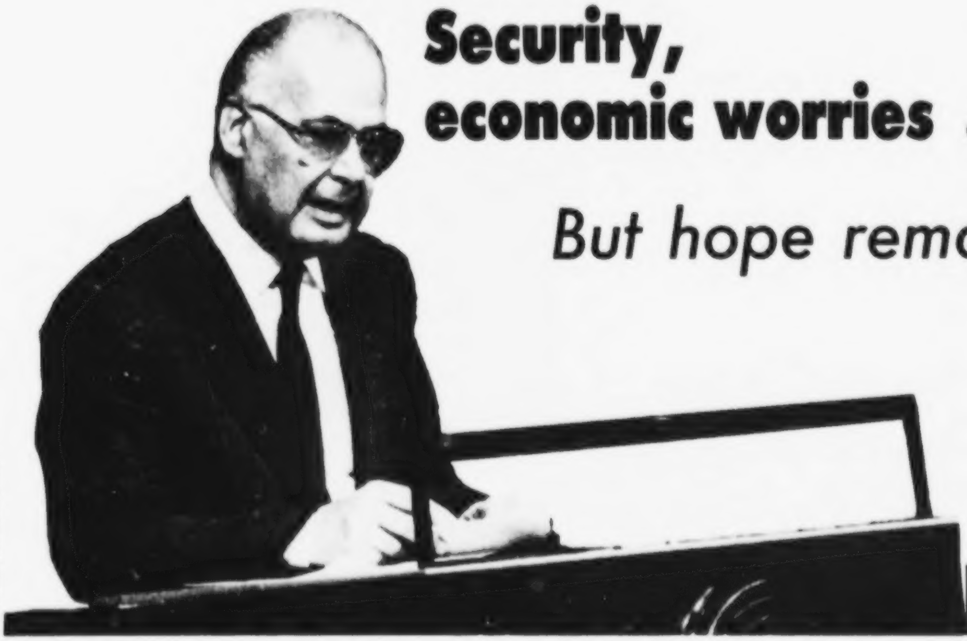
**ZAMBIA** Foreign Minister Luke J. Mwananshiku stated that this was not the time to relax existing sanctions against South Africa. "The oppresed people of South Africa, which the sanctions were intended to support in their struggle against *apartheid,* are the best judges of how and when the sanctions should be removed." The international community has a binding responsibility to ensure that *apartheid* is eradicated.

**ZIMBABWE** President Robert Gabriel Mugabe remarked that "in our age of the global village, it is inconceivable that nations can live in peace with each other in a world of such glaring disparities in the quality of life between the North and the South". He hoped that the new partnership in the Security Council would not result in that body "being used as a tool to promote and further only the interests of the powerful at the expense of those of the weak".

UN Photo 176579/J. Isaac

# Security, economic worries . . .

## But hope remains



UN Photo 176569/J. Isaac

Prime Minister El-Hoss of Lebanon

The explosive situation in the Persian Gulf area, worries about the continuing stalemate in the Middle East and the growing economic gap between developed and developing countries were major themes in the general debate developed by speakers from Asia and the Pacific region.

Referring to the crisis in the Persian Gulf area, Prime Minister Selim El-Hoss of Lebanon said that the region is set "atop a volcano on the verge of a massive eruption".

While the need for a political settlement of the Iraq-Kuwait dispute within the framework of Security Council resolutions was overwhelmingly affirmed, a resolution within an Arab framework was also promoted. Some speakers maintained that the presence of a large foreign force in the region was an undesirable development.

The point was made that, while the Security Council had pronounced itself speedily and forcefully on the Iraq-Kuwait situation, it had been unable to act on the Arab-Israeli conflict which also required an urgent solution. Broad support was given to a UN-sponsored international peace conference on the Middle East. Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon was demanded.

Hope was expressed for a political settlement in Cambodia and for peace between Iran and Iraq. Speakers looked forward to the eventual reunification of Korea and asserted that a broad-based government that reflected the popular will should be established in Afghanistan. In Cyprus, the goal was the establishment of a bicommunal, bizonal federal republic, it was emphasized.

On the economic front, the view that the developed world would not remain unaffected by deteriorating economic conditions in developing countries was shared by many delegations. Concern was voiced about the possibility that trade and investment flows from the developed world might now be rechannelled toward Eastern Europe to the detriment of third world countries.

Speaking on behalf of the South Pacific Forum, Prime Minister Walter H. Lini of Vanuatu believed that a visit to the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories by the UN Secretary-General, or a representative specially designated by him, could facilitate the completion of the decolonization process. The Forum had urged all parties involved to maintain a dialogue and continue promoting a framework for the peaceful evolution of New Caledonia towards an act of self-determination.

Other major subjects that preoccupied delegates included debt, the special problems of least developed and island developing nations, the environment—particularly climate—drugs and disarmament.

# From the debate. . .

**AFGHANISTAN** Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil said the most important elements for a political and peaceful solution of the Afghan issue should be a ceasefire, intra-Afghan dialogue and free and democratic elections. Talks on national accord between "the State and the leadership of almost all the opposition groups" had been continuing and he hoped they would culminate in full inter-Afghan understanding.

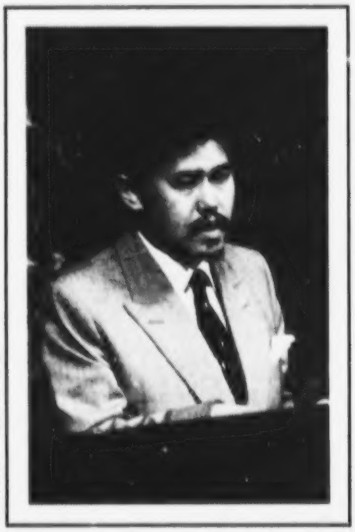
**BAHRAIN** Foreign Minister Shaikh Mohamed Bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa said the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait had "deeply wounded the conscience of humanity and caused a huge fissure in the wall of international security". It had also "placed world peace atop an erupting volcano". He called upon Iraq to comply with Security Council resolutions and said no peaceful international order was possible "if larger States are permitted to devour their smaller neighbours".

**BANGLADESH** President Hussain Muhammad Ershad said a billion people "barely survived on the margin of existence". They must not be denied their most fundamental right—the right to a decent life—which must be ensured in this last decade of the century. "Their journey into the next century must be led by a beacon of hope." In that, the UN could, and must, be of assistance.

UN Photo 176404/J. Isaac

**BHUTAN** Foreign Minister Dawa Tsering said, in reference to Iraq's annexation of Kuwait, that unless Iraq was "made to disgorge its ill-gotten gains" through the economic embargo and whatever other means the United Nations considered appropriate, no small State in the world would be safe in the future. He stressed that the vast majority of United Nations members were small States.

**BRUNEI DARUSSALAM** Foreign Minister Prince Mohamed Bolkiah said: "The global peace and stability that we all seek is certainly promoted by the climate of East-West détente that has developed during the past year. However, it will not emerge for the benefit of all unless we strive together to prevent new problems and to solve the many long-standing ones that have been shown to threaten the very existence of many nations and their people." At present, there appeared to be only moral force to protect the international community against violations of the UN Charter.



UN Photo 176681/M. Grant

**CHINA** Foreign Minister Qian Qichen insisted that it was essential to change the "unfair and inequitable international economic order". History had proved that the super-Powers could not "dominate the world". History would prove again that "a small number of big and rich Powers" could not "monopolize international affairs either". The "historical tide of peace and development" was irresistible. The future of the world was bright.

**CYPRUS** President George Vassiliou said: "No obstacles will derail us from our goal of a united, sovereign, territorially integral Cyprus, where freedom, justice and human rights for all Cypriots will not be regarded as a luxury but as the very basis of human existence. We shall continue to afford the Secretary-General our full support and co-operation in his efforts to achieve a breakthrough by way of result-oriented negotiations. Cyprus must not be left to suffer any longer from the catastrophic consequences of the maxim 'might means right'."

**FIJI** Berenado Vunibobo, Minister for Trade and Commerce, called on France to cease the use of the South Pacific region as a testing-ground for nuclear weapons. Fiji was also alarmed at the intention of the United States to use the Johnston Island facility to destroy its stocks of chemical weapons. The potential consequences for the region were not sufficiently known or understood to justify the destruction process there.

**INDIA** Foreign Minister Inder Kumar Gujral said India had recently proposed to Pakistan a set of measures that would induce confidence and co-operation. But Pakistan had chosen to ignore them and to persist in its "unacceptable activities". The two neighbouring countries could have "a great future" if they respected each other's integrity and unity and once Pakistan "desists from the temptation of interfering" in India's internal affairs.

**INDONESIA** Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said: "Deeply rooted inequities and imbalances continue to afflict inter-State relations, especially between developed and developing coutries, where North-South polarization is becoming accentuated as the major issue of our time. The politics of power, political domination and economic coercion still feature all too prominently in present-day international relations, and the remaining vestiges of colonialism and institutionalized racism have yet to be erased from our vision of universal emancipation."

UN Photo 176272/M. Grant

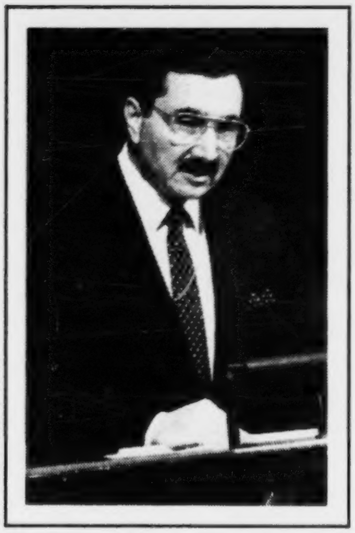
**IRAN** Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati declared that lasting peace and security in the "volatile Persian Gulf region" could be provided only by the countries of the region. While condemning, as a matter of principle, Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and rejecting any alteration in the region's geography which would lead to a state of permanent instability, Iran considered the long-term presence of foreign military forces in the area to be detrimental to the interests and security of the countries in the region.

**IRAQ** Sabah Talat Kadrat, speaking on behalf of Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, said the United States and its Western allies were seeking to gain control over the oil reserves in the Gulf and to "impose their imperialist political, economic and military hegemony" over the world, especially the third-world countries. They were "rushing the world . . . into a new imperialistic era" and bringing the world to "the brink of a devastating war".

**ISRAEL** Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister David Levy called on the international community to take firm measures to "put an end" to the Iraqi régime "which is threatening the stability of the entire region and runs the risk of undermining the world economy". Israel appealed to the leaders of the Arab countries to settle the protracted Arab-Israeli dispute through direct negotiations, "free from all shackles and pre-conditions".

**JAPAN** Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama proposed that a "system should be put in place which, in a situation where international peace and security was threatened, would enable the Security Council to conduct fact-finding activities and dispatch observer missions and the Secretary-General to undertake efforts to intervene and prevent conflict at an early stage". Japan was hopeful that progress would be made towards normalizing Japanese-Soviet relations, resolving the "still unsettled Northern Territories issue" and concluding a peace treaty between the two countries.

**JORDAN** Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Marwan Kasim said Israel and its supporters were "the parties that are most enthusiastic for a military showdown and call for that showdown as a means of ending the Gulf crisis". Sincere, objective and unbiased Arab participation must be an integral part of any solution offered by the UN for that crisis, because "any solution imposed from outside the region will have no chance of success whatsoever". Jordan called for the restoration of legitimacy in Kuwait through an Iraqi withdrawal and then for a permanent solution to the "differences of Iraq and Kuwait within an Arab context".



UN Photo 176321/J. Isaac

**KUWAIT** The Amir, Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, said the Iraqi régime had "invented false pretexts and untenable claims" against Kuwait. The "crisis of Kuwait is a manifold tragedy", whose dire consequences affected not only Kuwaitis, but also other peoples. It had jeopardized stability in the world, especially in the Gulf region. However, the withdrawal of the invaders was imminent. "We shall return to our Kuwait, the oasis of safety and peace."

**LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** Phoune Sipaseuth, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said the present system of international economic relations should be restructured, both in form and in principle. Some developed countries continued to impose "coercive political, economic and other measures" against certain developing countries. That had made the economic situation of least developed countries increasingly critical.

UN Photo 176709/J. Isaac

**LEBANON** Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Selim El-Hoss called for the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the UN Charter against Israel "for its continued occupation of Lebanese territory, in violation of international law and international instruments, and in defiance of the international will expressed through the resolutions of the United Nations and the Security Council".

**MALAYSIA** Foreign Minister Dato Haji Abu Hassan Haji Omar said that, while the Gulf crisis and the question of Cambodia had demonstrated a unity of purpose among the Security Council's permanent members, that unity must also provide evidence of their willingness to work closely together on other problems that had eluded solution, in particular the question of Palestine. For Malaysia, it was unacceptable that the Security Council could pronounce itself so forcefully on the Gulf crisis when it had not been able to act on the critical issue of Palestine.

UN Photo 176399/J. Isaac

**MALDIVES** President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom said international mercenaries had in recent years threatenend the peace and stability of many States. Today, they were "better organized, better financed and better equipped with sophisticated weapons". Unless immediate and firm action was taken against them, they would remain a significant danger to the world in general. It was not just the responsibility of the nations threatened by sea-level rise to take preventive measures. It was also the duty of those States whose race for development over many years had contributed to global warming, ozone depletion, acid rain and tropical deforestation to reverse the existing situation. "We cannot accept that economic development has to be achieved at the expense of our environment."

**MONGOLIA** Foreign Minister Tserenpiliin Gombosuren said the general political situation in the Asia-Pacific region was positive. That was reflected in the growing willingness of regional countries to engage in dialogue and co-operation, and in the increasing trust and mutual understanding among them. The time when ideological and other differences stood in the way of greater co-operation was fading away. New and earnest steps were being taken to resolve some of the regional conflicts. Mongolia favoured the intensification with the United Nations of a global dialogue on all the main components of world trade and economic relations.

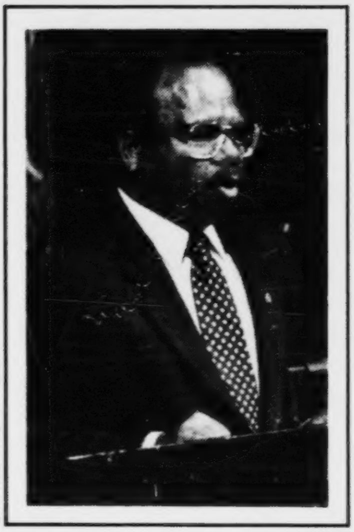
**MYANMAR** Deputy Foreign Minister Ohn Gyaw said that never since the end of the Second World War had there been a more favourable political climate or a better opportunity for the nations of the world to fashion a new international order based on the timeless principles enshrined in the Charter. "As we stand at the threshold of a new era we see looming ahead both exceptional promises and daunting challenges." Myanmar welcomed the emergence of a collegial spirit among the permanent members of the Security Council, which had greatly enhanced the effective functioning of that United Nations body.

**NEPAL** Jai Pratap Rana, Permanent Representative to the UN, said Nepal welcomed the emergence of the "unique convergence" of views among the permanent members of the Security Council over the "grave situation" in the Persian Gulf region. However, he emphasized that agreement among the major Powers must carry with it the support of the international community to counter any legitimate anxiety that world affairs might be run by a directorate.

**OMAN** Yousuf Bin Alawi Bin Abdullah, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said, in reference to Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, that "the invasion and forcible annexation of a neighbouring State is a dangerous precedent the likes of which the international community has not witnessed since the establishment of the United Nations". Oman welcomed the "positive role played by the friendly and fraternal States in responding to the legitimate appeal made by Kuwait and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on the grounds of self-defence".

**PAKISTAN** Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan said India had adopted "repressive measures" to suppress the struggle of the people of Kashmir for their right to self-determination. "The popular unrest in Indian-held Kashmir is entirely indigenous in character." The international community must exert its moral and political influence to support the struggle of the people of Kashmir. Pakistan would persist in its efforts for a peaceful settlement.

**PAPUA NEW GUINEA** Prime Minister Rabbie L. Namaliu urged that any act of self-determination in New Caledonia should be consistent with UN principles and practices, and that all options, including independence, should be open. Papua New Guinea strongly opposed the French nuclear testing at Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls and urged the United States not to use Johnston atoll as a permanent site for the disposal of chemical weapons and toxic waste. The facility should be closed down once current operations had been completed.



UN Photo 178274/J. Isaac

**PHILIPPINES** Raul S. Manglapus, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, said the third world now owed $1.3 trillion. Therefore, every child in that world was born with original debt up to $1,000 at the moment of birth, which, at 10 per cent compounded interest, reached $7,000 at age 21. "In this glorious year of the child is it not time to redeem the original debt of that child?" It was now almost a decade that the debt crisis "has been thundering across our planet". The "assault is overwhelming us because our defences are isolated and our strategies fragmented". The Philippines proposed a global counter-attack by "forces that will transcend geography and ideology".

**QATAR** Foreign Minister Mubarak Bin Ali Al-Khater said the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait "turns the wheel of history back to ancient times when strong States used to devour their smaller neighbours and with impunity erase them from the map of the world". The international community's "acquiescence in Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons" encouraged that country to pursue its nuclear armaments programme and, consequently, to persist in its "political obduracy".

**SAMOA** Prime Minister Tofilau Eti Alesana said nuclear testing in the Pacific and elsewhere must stop immediately. For 15 years, the "frantic protests" of the peoples of the Pacific against nuclear testing on fragile Mururoa atoll had been completely ignored by one country which had "simply decided to embark on a testing programme, come what might"—a programme which so far had conducted over 100 nuclear explosions.

**SAUDI ARABIA** Foreign Minister Prince Saud Al-Faisal said the "cohesion of the international stand" would force the rulers of Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait and lead to the restitution of Kuwait's legitimate Government. It was for Palestine's sake that Iraq should withdraw from Kuwait. Saudi Arabia's solidarity with Palestinians would continue "until victory is achieved".

**SINGAPORE** Foreign Minister Wong Kan Seng said co-operation between the great Powers had facilitated the work of the United Nations, "allowing it to respond in a crisis with requisite speed". "But, we would be concerned if great-Power unanimity translated into a great-Power directorate which would in effect shape the new international order without the necessary checks and balances." The cold war was over. But it was not the end of history.

**SOLOMON ISLANDS** Francis Bugotu, Permanent Representative to the UN, said, in reference to the Iraq-Kuwait situation, that Solomon Islands and its Pacific neighbours did not wish to see "their priorities, their important needs and what they valued most in life . . . relegated to the back seat, pushed into the background and neglected by the world community because of a conflict and instability we had no hand in bringing about".

**SRI LANKA** Foreign Minister J.E. Harold Herat said the sense of mutual accommodation and understanding that seemed to guide relations between the super-Powers must be extended to cover their relations with the rest of the world. All inter-State relations should be conducted on the firm footing on which the UN was founded—respect for the sovereign equality of all States irrespective of their size and power.

UN Photo 176828/M. Grant

**SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC** Foreign Minister Farouk Al-Shara said Syria expected the world, in the "new international climate", to stand firm against Israeli occupation of Arab lands. "The rejection of occupation and annexation is a principle that must be respected and applied in all cases, irrespective of . . . where the occupied territories might lie, for such a principle must be at the core of the new world order".

**THAILAND** Foreign Minister Subin Pinkayan said Thailand's hope of "seeing the transformation of the battlefields into market-places" extended beyond Cambodia to all Indo-Chinese countries, and also Myanmar. The successful integration of those countries, with the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), into a broader regional economic system would be in "our common interest". "We stand ready to contribute to such integration, which will enhance the economic performance of the Asia-Pacific region."

**UNITED ARAB EMIRATES** Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said the international community, which had exhibited unity and exercised authority in a decisive manner against the Iraqi aggression, was "duty-bound to exercise the same authority against all acts of aggression, especially Israel's aggression against and occupation of Palestine and other Arab lands". Amassing of weapons by any States in excess of its defensive needs became a strong incentive to use its armaments for aggression.

**VANUATU** Prime Minister Walter H. Lini said Vanuatu's economy had been seriously affected as a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. However, his country would continue to support the principles on which the UN was based, "for without adherence to those principles there will be nothing but international anarchy". Small countries such as Vanuatu "would be particularly vulnerable to the appetites of others".

**VIET NAM** Nguyen Co Thach, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said it was Viet Nam's hope that a peaceful settlement of the Cambodian issue would "open the way towards a new era for the peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, an era of peaceful reconstruction and development", and would help promote co-operation in peaceful coexistence among South-East Asian countries.

**YEMEN** Abdulaziz Al-Dali, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said that from the start, Yemen had tried to contain the crisis in the Gulf "within an Arab framework" and to search for a peaceful solution. However, other Powers had "moved in to derail any Arab attempt to solve the crisis". Heavy concentrations of foreign troops had headed towards the region, further complicating and escalating the crisis. War was an option "fraught with dangers and destruction, and would lead to a veritable catastrophe that will do grave damage to the States and peoples of the region and spill over into other parts of the world".

UN Photo 176755/M. Grant

## Latin America and the Caribbean

# Light and darkness . . .

## A new solidarity

UN Photo 176403/J. Isaac

President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro of Nicaragua

A growing pessimism about the immediate benefits of the end of the cold war for the region and the world at large was palpable among many Latin American and Caribbean speakers during the general debate.

While celebrating the newly-found dialogue among the super-Powers and, in particular, Eastern Europe's democratization, which many compared to the steady crumbling of Latin American authoritarianism in recent years, speakers from the region were skeptical, even anxious, about the global post-cold war future.

Hope was expressed about a settlement of the 10-year-old civil war in El Salvador, a national reconciliation in Guatemala and a positive outcome in the dialogue between Argentina and the United Kingdom regarding the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). Debt, the environment and drugs topped the region's socio-economic agenda.

Anxiety was centred on the Iraq-Kuwait crisis, with the potential onslaught of sky-rocketing oil prices on the region's debt-weakened economies, and the possible economic backlash for the third world of Eastern Europe's accelerated absorption into the global markets.

A note of outright disappointment was sounded by Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari: "We see with distresss that détente, and even co-operation, between Powers, which follow different but convergent courses, does not guarantee the end of regional conflicts, nor encourage development in the countries of the South."

At the same time, speakers were enthusiastic about the strong spirit of integration and co-operation pervading the region.

Support was unanimous for a number of fresh and revitalized sub-regional integration efforts, especially among Central American, Andean Pact and South Cone countries (Argentina and Brazil—which plan to establish a common market before December 1994—and Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay).

There was also a sense that, with the strengthening of democracy and a heightened political maturity, Latin America and the Caribbean were drawing closer to each other, in spite of cultural and linguistic differences.

As an example of the new intra-regional spirit, Ecuador's Foreign Minister Diego Cordovez cited the first visits in 170 years of history by a Peruvian President to Ecuador and an Ecuadorian President to Peru. A dispute about limits had simmered between the two countries since the early nineteenth century.

Concern for Haiti, the poorest country in the hemisphere and often marginalized in the past from hemispheric politics, was another sign of growing regional solidarity.

# From the debate . . .

**ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA** Lionel Alexander Hurst, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that rain forests, the most valuable of mankind's terrestrial assets, were being destroyed at an alarming rate daily. Oceans were polluted; low-lying agricultural lands, including entire islands, were threatened with submersion because of global warming. "Ours is an ill planet which will become more ill unless our countries are willing to alter significantly our patterns of consumption."

**ARGENTINA** Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo said that in restoring diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom, his country had initiated a process of normalization that was already "bearing fruit". Argentina believed that this new climate between the two countries must also facilitate, at the appropriate time, the resumption of negotiations on the sovereignty over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), and South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands, repeatedly called for by the General Assembly.

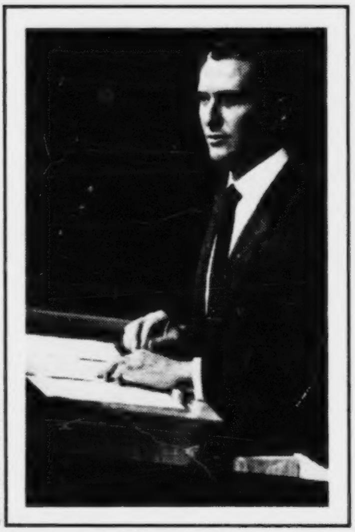
**BAHAMAS** Sir Clement T. Maynard, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that drug traffic into and through his country had been drastically decreased and there had been a slowing, though not a halt, of drug abuse by Bahamians. The Bahamas followed a comprehensive strategy encompassing interdiction efforts, prevention, public information, severe sanctions for drug offenders and compulsory testing for security forces.

**BARBADOS** Foreign Minister Maurice A. King said that his country was being penalized for sound economic management. As a small, middle-income island developing State, Barbados was excluded from the debt-relief programmes of the international financial institutions and was being denied continued access to concessionary financing, "precisely at a time when our economy faces great challenges". A more dynamic and realistic approach to the provision of development assistance must be adopted.

**BELIZE** Foreign Minister Said W. Musa said that true development should be measured "not by growth rates but rather by what has been termed the quality of life". The decade of the 1990s must focus on human development, particularly in the least developed and developing countries. "Belize subscribes to the view that human freedom is vital for human development."

**BOLIVIA** Foreign Minister Carlos Iturralde-Ballivian said that the problem of Bolivia's land-locked status, rooted in the past century, weighed heavily upon his country. "Bolivia once again calls upon the international community to grasp the importance of this problem, which the Organization of American States (OAS) has repeatedly declared to be one with hemispheric implications."

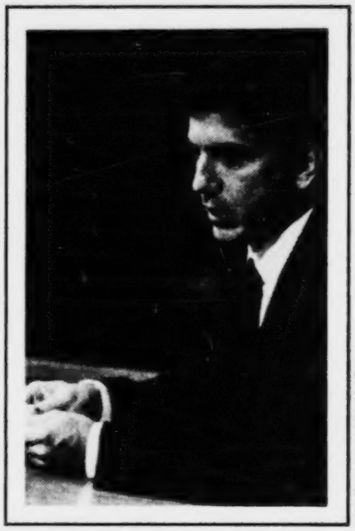
**BRAZIL** President Fernando Collor reiterated his country's commitment to nuclear non-proliferation in Latin America, as embodied in the "pioneering" Treaty of Tlatelolco. The time had come to go one step further. "Brazil today discards the idea of any experiments that might involve nuclear explosions, even if only for peaceful purposes." It trusts that other nations will consider the possibility of following the same path.



UN Photo 176193/M. Grant

**CHILE** President Patricio Aylwin Azocar said that human rights must be protected everywhere and at all times. "When serious violations of human rights occurred in my country, the United Nations never once relaxed its scrutiny of events in Chile. This position of vigilance, expressed in repeated condemnations of the situation obtaining at that time, constituted a valuable contribution to the restoration of democracy, for which I should like publicly to express my gratitude today."

**COLOMBIA** President César Gaviria said that the long list of important Colombian officials who had lost their lives at the hands of drug traffickers was even "longer and bloodier than ever". Drug terrorists had assassinated three presidential candidates. It was the ordinary Colombians who were paying the highest price. Colombia had struck heavy blows against drug traffickers but had received "no compensation at all" and "very few real measures of support" beyond the repeated expressions of solidarity. It was time to translate initiatives into concrete action. The war on drugs could not be the sole responsibility of one country.



UN Photo 178429/M. Grant

**COSTA RICA** Foreign Minister Bernd Niehaus-Quesada said that Costa Rica viewed the question of peace dividends as a matter of high priority. "Over a period of many years Costa Rica has been the beneficiary of substantial peace dividends. It has never possessed nuclear or chemical weapons nor does it ever wish to do so. It does not have an army, nor does it wish to have an army. We are an underdeveloped country with a high level of debt, but the resources we have available are invested in health, education, housing and development, not in tanks or fighter planes."

**CUBA** Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli said that his Government had expressed itself in the Security Council against the invasion and annexation of Kuwait and had made constant efforts to promote a negotiated solution to prevent the outbreak of war. But Cuba did not accept "the self-proclaimed role of policeman that the United States has assumed, nor the pressures it has been applying to prevent the sending of food and medicines to the civilian populations of Iraq and Kuwait".

**DOMINICA** Foreign Minister Brian Alleyne urged the UN to place much greater emphasis on the Haitian problem and "not to treat it as merely peripheral". While the people of Haiti should work out their own destiny, their neighbours and the international community should lend appropriate encouragement and support to their efforts. "The cycle of violence and terror that has dominated the life of Haiti for such a long time must be broken."

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC** Joaquín Ricardo García, Secretary of State for External Relations, said that Haiti, with which, "by an accident of fate", his country shared the same island, needed the support of the entire international community. It was time to discuss at the Assembly Haiti's "delicate situation", since its scope was "more than national, even more than regional". The Dominican Republic had received a constant flow of Haitian immigrants, numbering more than 1 million, who were "competing freely with the Dominican labour force".

**ECUADOR** Foreign Minister Diego Cordovez said that the Treaty for Amazonian Co-operation, signed by Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru, Suriname and Venezuela, was entering a new phase, "with 50 programmes and more than 100 projects of the greatest importance related to the environment, science and technology, health, indigenous affairs, transportation and tourism, information and education". Countries were assigning the highest priority to sustainable development efforts for the Amazon.

**EL SALVADOR** President Alfredo Félix Cristiani-Burkard stated that his Government was prepared to declare a unilateral cease-fire, to be put into effect as soon as the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) decided likewise. That would speed up the ongoing peace negotiations between both parties. "In the phase that we are in now, violence merely impedes that process."

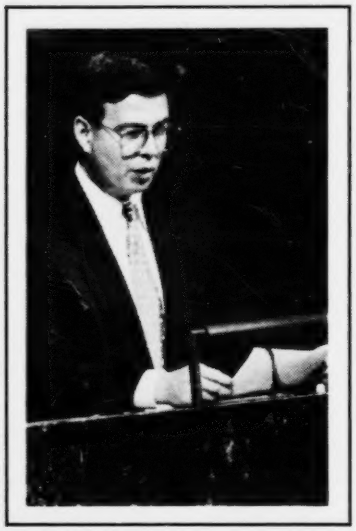
**GRENADA** Senator Denis Noel, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, said that his Government was anxious to receive concrete assurances that less-developed disadvantaged States, in general, and small island developing countries, in particular, would not be "the net losers in current attempts aimed at buttressing political change in Eastern Europe by directing massive financial and economic assistance to those countries".

**GUATEMALA** Foreign Minister Ariel Rivera Irías said that the most important challenge confronted by his Government had been that of strengthening democracy. With the full support of the Guatemalan Government, the National Commission of Reconciliation of Guatemala had taken the initiative of "promoting a process of dialogue between the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) and the various political, management and religious sectors and people's representatives, as well as with the Government of the Republic".

**GUYANA** Samuel R. Insanally, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that it was now "possible to conceive of multilateral arrangements to fill any vacuum that may be created by the disappearance of military blocs". Guyana urged the Assembly to seriously re-examine the feasibility of the Secretary-General's proposals to strengthen the Organization's role in that area.

**HAITI** Foreign Minister Paul Christian Latortue said that "a major multi-dimensional crisis has afflicted Haiti for more than four years", since the fall of dictatorship. One of the saddest episodes was the aborted 1987 elections. The 80-per cent illiteracy rate had not been reduced and even hope had been threatened. But the Provisional Government was committed to lead the nation to free and honest elections on 16 December 1990 and the armed forces were committed to guarantee "the best climate of security". "Nothing can now stop the march towards democratic elections."

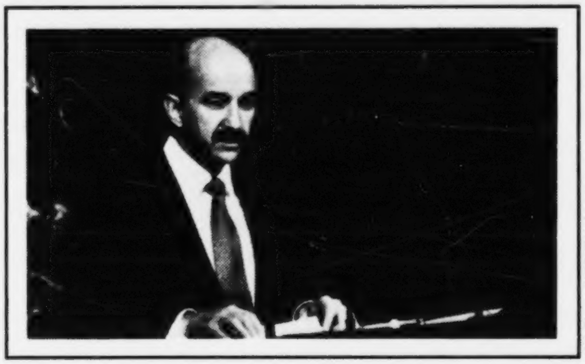
**HONDURAS** President Rafael Leonardo Callejas Romero said that Central American countries were attempting to reduce the size and offensive capacity of their armies. A "prominent role is given to Central American integration—certainly our most viable option in building a better future". The new integration scheme should take into account the errors of the past. The costs and benefits of integration should be shared equitably so that the process would not be interrupted again.



UN Photo 176453/J. Isaac

**JAMAICA** David Coore, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, urged the industrialized nations, the international financial institutions and the oil-producing countries to implement without delay, "not next year or in the long run but right now", an emergency programme to assist non-oil-producing developing countries, whose economies were facing disastrous stress. Jamaica strongly supported the view of the Soviet Union "that the United Nations should take the lead in promoting and co-ordinating such a programme".

**MEXICO** President Carlos Salinas de Gortari said that the prospect of population growth and the new context of international competition are the major challenges that Mexico faces. Mexico is undertaking an in-depth reform of the State. It once had one of the world's most closed economies; now it has one of the most open.



UN Photo 176522/J. Isaac

**NICARAGUA** President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro said that on 25 February 1990 the Nicaraguan people voted for peace. "The United Nations were guarantors of this election, the first truly free election we have had in 169 years of existence as a republic. I, like many other Nicaraguans of my generation, had for the first time in my life the opportunity to vote freely. In the name of all Nicaraguans, I deeply thank this world forum and all the other international organizations and nations which have supported our desire to be free."

**PANAMA** President Guillermo Endara Galimany said that the deadly arms trade must be stopped. "We agree on the need to supervise the production of arms worldwide and the trade in arms for terrorist and anti-democratic purposes." Panama, which played a part in the arms trade under the military government, was drawing up measures to prevent the illegal movement of arms and military *matériel.* It was also taking steps to combat the laundering of drug money.

**PARAGUAY** Foreign Minister Alexis Frutos Vaesken, describing the democratization process in Paraguay, said that a new electoral code had been adopted and repressive laws had been repealed. The right of assembly was respected, workers were able to express themselves freely through trade unions and the first direct municipal elections in Paraguay's history had been scheduled for 1991. Tolerance and dialogue among all political parties had been restored. "There are no political prisoners in our country."

**PERU** Foreign Minister Luis Marchand Stens said that his country was facing an emergency of such dimension that the new Government had appealed for a national consensus calling on all the political and social forces to join together to overcome the present crisis and to eliminate illegal drug trafficking and terrorism. In the last decade, some 18,000 persons had died as a result of political violence in Peru.

**ST. KITTS AND NEVIS** Prime Minister Kennedy A. Simmonds said that small island nations like his country were vulnerable to hurricanes, "to every fluctuation in economic parameters far removed from our shores, like the crisis in the Gulf", to the adventurism of terrorists and "to air, sea and land pollution originating outside of our shores".

**SAINT LUCIA** Foreign Minister Emmanuel Neville Cenac said that high on the agenda of regional initiatives was "the economic integration of the 34 million people of the Caribbean into the larger continental Latin subregion". Commonwealth Caribbean nations "are extremely delighted that the historic, linguistic, demographic and other criteria that have long separated us from Latin America are falling by the wayside . . ."

**SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES** Prime Minister James Fitz-Allen Mitchell reiterated his Government's proposal that the savings resulting from disarmament should be applied to the environment and that halting desertification in Africa should be the first such project.

**SURINAME** President Ramsewak Shankar said that the "somewhat idyllic portrayal of the changes in international political relations must not lead us to overlook the sources of international conflict", such as world poverty, environmental destruction, the rampant drug problem and the injustices that mark international economic relations.

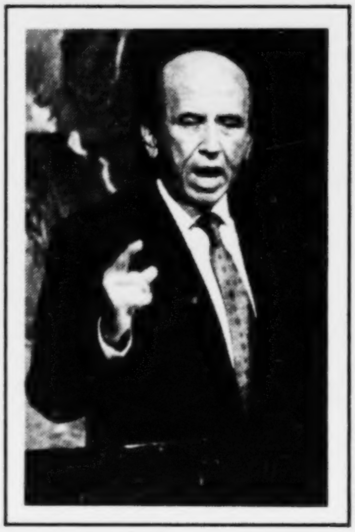
UN Photo 176370/M. Grant

**TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO** Prime Minister Arthur N. Robinson said that Trinidad and Tobago was aware that the proposal for the establishment of an international criminal court had raised "fundamental questions" of jurisdiction and sovereignty. But those issues were not intractable and Trinidad and Tobago was confident that substantial progress would be made at the Assembly's session towards its establishment.

UN Photo 176595/J. Isaac

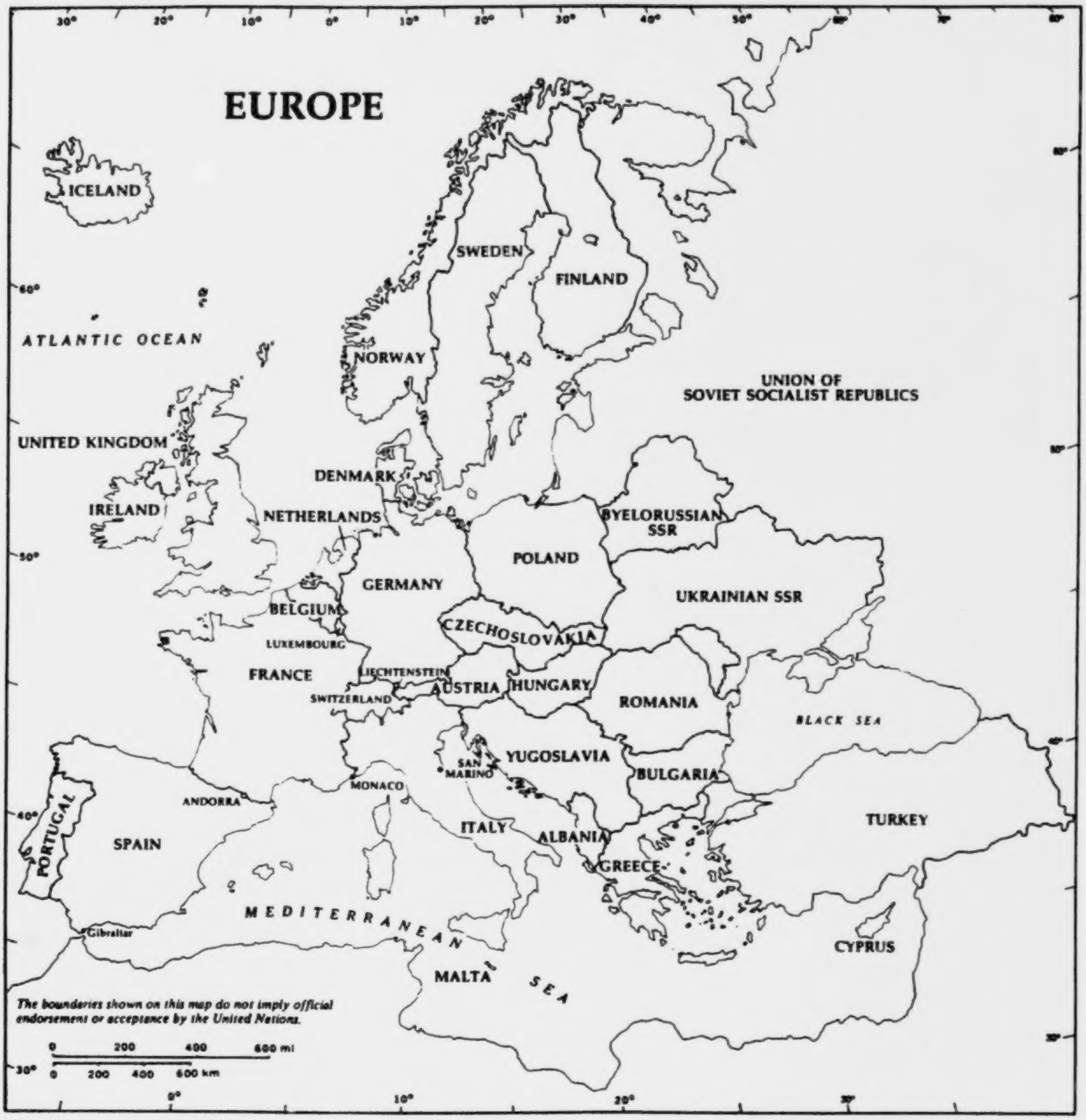
**URUGUAY** Foreign Minister Héctor Gros Espiell warned that if agricultural negotiations did not succeed, the whole Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade would fail. Industrialized countries had been inflexible on many topics, particularly on access to markets and agriculture, a sector crucial to Uruguay. Developing countries were not "a group of beggars". They did not ask for charity but for "the opening of markets to our products, fair prices, technological co-operation and investment on fair terms".

**VENEZUELA** President Carlos Andrés Pérez proposed "an oil conference of producers and consumers, under the auspices of the United Nations, to be convened urgently in order to address, once and for all, the political reality of oil". Venezuela, as possessor of the greatest crude reserves, had tried to generate agreements that would reduce the effects of the Persian Gulf conflict on the world's oil markets. "We do not believe in a military solution to the conflict. We insist on a political way out of the crisis."



UN Photo 176597/J. Isaac

# And . . . towards a new, united Europe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GERMANY
POLAND
BYELORUSSIAN SSR
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
UKRAINIAN SSR
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FRANCE
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The boundaries shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.
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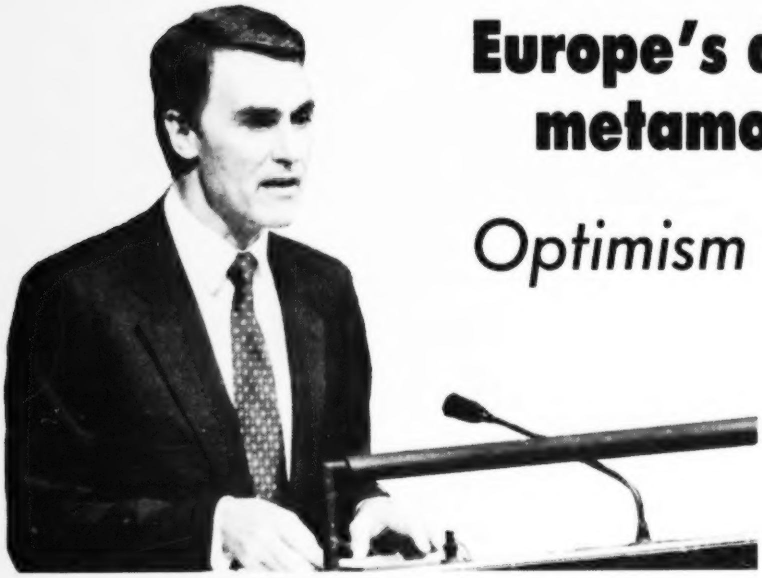
MAP NO. 2771 Rev. 3 UNITED NATIONS
OCTOBER 1990

> "The earlier artificial division of Europe on an ideological basis and the resulting bloc-type approach of political, military and economic confrontation have been replaced by the historic opportunity to create a united Europe based on common values."
>
> —*Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky*

## Western European and Other States


UN Photo 176317/J Isaac

# Europe's dramatic metamorphosis . . .

## *Optimism tempered by concern*

**Prime Minister Cavaco Silva of Portugal**

Europe's dramatic metamorphosis featured prominently as representatives of this group of States lauded the construction of the continent's new economic and security structures, German unification and democratic elections in Eastern Europe.

President François Mitterrand of France compared the "drastic changes" that occurred in Europe and throughout the world in 1989 with those of the French Revolution of 1789, which "overcame everything"—structures, systems, ways of thinking and acting, powers and fears—"and all for the sole, compelling need to live differently, in keeping with the requirements of the spirit".

The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), in particular, exemplified a "renewed confidence and hope in the future", said Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva of Portugal. The 35 States participating in the CSCE, he explained, were able to create conditions for "new schemes of co-operation, straightforward relations and freedom of movement" that would prove of great benefit to the individual.

Optimism due to the cold war's demise was tempered by concern for growing social, economic and environmental problems. President George Bush of the United States underlined the unanimous support for bolstered multilateral frameworks to cope with environmental degradation, terrorism, international drug trafficking, management of developing country debt, refugees and global peace-keeping efforts.

Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson warned of "possible future global confrontations between rich and poor". He said there might be grounds for "a future bitter struggle" between the industrialized developed countries and the poor countries. The conflict could be prevented, however, if richer countries demonstrated greater understanding of poorer nations' problems and showed respect for "the rights, the culture and the individuality" of other nations and regions.

Events in the area of the Persian Gulf cast a shadow of gloom during the three-week debate, as Western European countries urged strict compliance with recently adopted Security Council resolutions calling for an Iraqi troop withdrawal from Kuwait and, until then, a universal commitment to economic sanctions against Iraq.

Other items of concern were: the need for solutions to long-standing regional conflicts in the Middle East, Cyprus, southern Africa, Western Sahara and Central America; reduction of military budgets; strenthening of confidence-building measures; the conclusion of a convention outlawing the use of chemical weapons; and safeguarding of human rights, particularly of minority groups.

# From the debate. . .

**AUSTRALIA** Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, said that the post-war era had left many problems, such as the "scourges of hunger, ill-health, poverty and debt", which threatened to "widen rather than narrow the already alarming gulf between North and South". Racism and ethnic and religious hatred, as well as environmental degradation, remained to be "purged" from many countries and regions.

UN Photo 176581/J Isaac

**AUSTRIA** Foreign Minister Alois Mock cited the Initiative of the Pentagonale, comprising Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy and Yugoslavia, as "an example of the new dynamism of subregional international co-operation". The Initiative provided for technical co-operation in the areas of environment, energy, transport, science and technology, culture and tourism.

**BELGIUM** Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens called for a tribute to the "leaders, politicians, people with a social conscience, academics, people in the arts and those involved with religion who, at their own risk, chose to break with totalitarianism, bureaucracy, inefficiency, stagnation, stereotyped language, manipulation of truth and history rewritten". Tomorrow's Europe was more easily defined "in terms of values than in terms of geographical boundaries".

**CANADA** Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs, said the past year had "seen the tearing down of old barriers, the disintegration of walls—walls of the mind and real walls—walls we once thought permanent". Those in the West "used to view the world through the prism of the cold war. That prism determined many of our priorities and guided our actions. That prism was a prison, and it has now been shattered."

**DENMARK** Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said the vision of the founders of the United Nations had "only partly materialized". The world has not yet been able to save itself from the scourge of war. Fundamental human rights were "still being violated in many countries, causing human suffering and heavy flows of refugees". Freedom and democracy also remained elusive; hunger and poverty afflicted millions of people; and new scourges—terrorism, degradation caused by drugs, environmental problems and AIDS—had emerged.

**FINLAND** Foreign Minister Pertti Paasio stated that "the new Europe" could not be oblivious to the needs of the rest of the world. Among the important lessons to be drawn from recent events in Europe was that the ideas of freedom, democracy and human rights were so powerful that sooner or later they would reassert themselves. Abandonment of totalitarian régimes helped enhance international confidence and security, as did "an emerging awareness of global priorities".

**FRANCE** President François Mitterrand said the "so-called Eastern countries, countries that yesterday belonged to another competitive and adversary system" were now the masters of their own fates. Their actions "will influence and affect ours, until all the countries of Europe are more solidly linked together, the countries of the East and those of the Community, the free-trade countries and those without allegiance to any system, in what I have called a confederation".

**GERMANY** Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said it had never been more obvious "how closely Germany's fate is linked with that of Europe". The unity of Germany was a step "towards the unity of Europe". Germans were filled with "a sense of history and responsibility" and would not forget "the endless suffering that was brought upon the nations of Europe and the world in the name of Germany".

UN Photo 176323J Isaac

**GREECE** Foreign Minister Andonis Samaras explained that Greece had a strong interest in convening a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean, following the example of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). With regard to Turkey, Greece was determined to "conduct a serious and sincere dialogue", aimed at overcoming the differences affecting their bilateral relations and at "establishing lasting links of friendly co-operation".

**ICELAND** Foreign Minister Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson explained that for a country like Iceland, "overwhelmingly dependent on the resources of the sea", safeguarding the environment was "a question of survival". It was therefore of the utmost importance "to take effective measures against pollution of the maritime environment, not least from land-based sources and radioactive waste". Sea-borne nuclear reactors were "in reality mobile power plants" and should be given "no less serious consideration than nuclear reactors on land".

**IRELAND** Foreign Minister Gerard Collins said that in recent months, there had been indications that there "may now be a willingness on all sides to address the problem of Northern Ireland in a way that holds promise of a durable solution". Ireland did not minimize the difficulties connected with talks, since the potential participants "differ—sometimes profoundly—in their sense of the past and in their aspirations for the future".

**ITALY** Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis, speaking on behalf of the European Community and its member States, said the current global situation "prompted us to reflect on the need to adjust the structure and the functioning of the United Nations to the new reality of the international scene". In the past, the "abuse of the exercise of the right of veto" had paralysed the capacity of the UN to put an end to the gravest crises. "Today, the outlines of a possible new scenario are emerging, with the UN as the focal point in a world at last free of the nightmare of nuclear holocaust."

UN Photo 176237J Isaac

**LIECHTENSTEIN** Prime Minister Hans Brunhart said questions concerning peace, security, disarmament and human rights could not and should not be resolved by solutions that were related solely to Europe. Europe was "a part of the world common to all of us, in which we realize daily the extent and increase of global mutual dependence". In view of the favourably developing climate of East-West co-operation, "let us not lose sight of the equally important dimension of the North-South relationship".

**LUXEMBOURG** Foreign Minister Jacques Poos said neither democracy nor the market economy was "a miraculous panacea". The painful experience of certain democracies "undermined by violence, guerrilla war, socio-economic disorders and persistent under-development" was proof of this. "The establishment of political institutions guaranteeing pluralism and a democratic transition requires great effort and tenacity."

**MALTA** Alexander Borg Olivier, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that the present crisis in the Persian Gulf had shown in the clearest way that the "gravest threat" to peace and security was no longer rooted in East-West tensions, but in the "complex of socio-economic and environmental issues" on which the future conditions of life depended, which included energy, mechanisms for commercialization, global systems of communication and demographics. Time was irreversible and there was "no mere going-back in history".

**NETHERLANDS** Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek welcomed, as the cold war ended, a "new perspective for the United Nations in the field of human rights". "United Nations human rights standards have always provided clear and uncompromising criteria by which the conduct and achievement of Governments could be measured. Now a sustained effort can be made to strengthen the supervisory machinery which is so important if respect for human rights is really to be improved."

**NEW ZEALAND** Fran Wilde, Minister of Disarmament and Arms Control and Associate Minister for Foreign Affairs, explained that New Zealand "vigorously" endorsed the Secretary-General's view that "a comprehensive approach to security is the very essence of the existence of the United Nations". A balanced and integrative approach to security was central to the protection of the interests of small countries. "Many of the world's citizens live in small countries which have modest aspirations, which do not wish to engage in wars, and which cannot force their views on others."

**NORWAY** Prime Minister Jan Syse said democracy, human rights and sustainable development were "inseparable". Economic efficiency and equitable distribution could not be achieved "if the rights and the potential of the individual are neglected". Norway would attach increasing importance "to the dialogue with our development partners on issues of democratic development, respect for human rights and popular participation in the development process".

**PORTUGAL** Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva warned that relaxing East-West tensions "should not make us forget that there are serious structural imbalances" between the various countries of Central and Eastern Europe. "It should be the task of the international economic bodies and the richer countries to adopt measures and programmes to help effect the transition to a multiparty democracy and a market economy in the countries that abandoned authoritarian systems of planned economy of their own free will."

**SPAIN** Foreign Minister Francisco Fernández Ordoñez said that despite a "wind of freedom" sweeping down the "old roads of Europe", there was concern that the greatest threats to democracy in Central and Eastern Europe "involve the outbreak of heightened nationalism, xenophobia and irredentism". Spain was very much aware of the dangers "that stalk during the transition from authoritarianism to open democracy".

UN Photo 176507/E. Debebe

**SWEDEN** Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson saw the need for an effective system of collective security. "Our goal is a system where we all help protect each other, where we feel secure in the knowledge that an attack on any one of us will not be tolerated by anyone else." Other goals included a system which could "deal with underlying causes of conflict", is built on "respect for international law" and "gives freedom and justice to all".

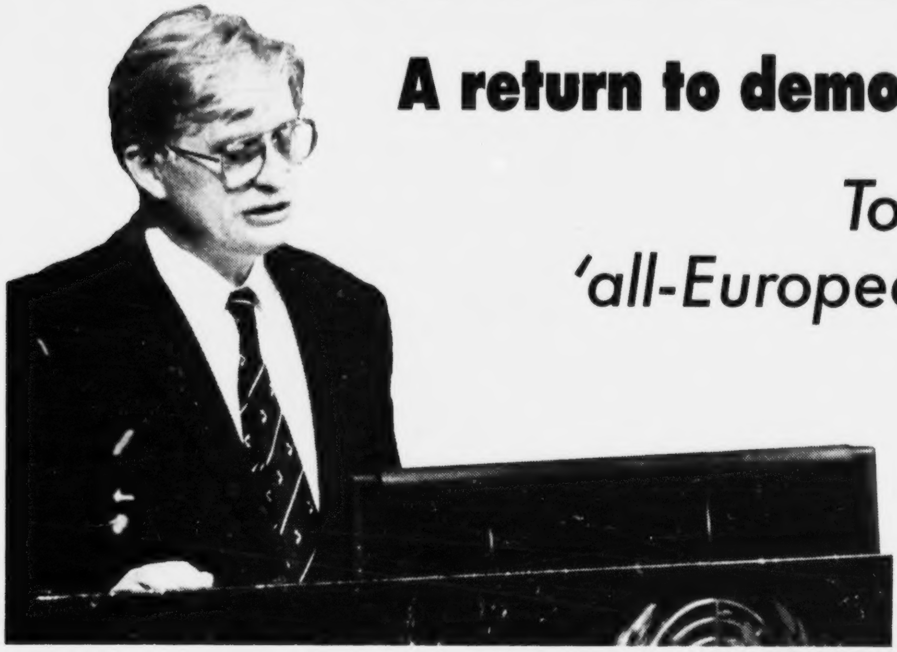
**TURKEY** Foreign Minister Ali Bozer observed that on the threshold of the last decade of the twentieth century, "economic and social problems related to population, poverty, unemployment, uneven income distribution, environmental degradation and the over-exploitation of natural resources not only have grown worse but have become more interlinked and globalized".

**UNITED KINGDOM** Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, said that the world should not be mesmerized by "happy changes", but rather "must now knuckle down to the mundane task of making these changes a part of everyday life, of our habits of thought and our instinctive sense of reality". The permanence or the full consequences of the "velvet" revolutions around the world could not yet be assured, and it would be wise to "proceed with caution" and "renewed determination".

**UNITED STATES** President George Bush said that not since 1945 had the world seen the real possibility of using the UN as it was designed—"as a centre for international collective security". Changes in the Soviet Union had been critical to the emergence of a stronger United Nations and the United States-Soviet relationship was "finally beyond containment and confrontation". He was hopeful that the machinery of the United Nations would no longer be frozen "by the divisions that plagued us during the cold war".

# A return to democracy...

## Towards an 'all-European house'



**Jiri Dienstbier, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia**

UN Photo 176383/M. Grant

The sweeping social, political and economic transformation of Eastern Europe held the spotlight, as many States of the region described during the general debate their return after 40 years to free and democratic governments. Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union said 1990 was "not just a calendar year but a light-year in the history of the world".

Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said the "legacy of Yalta" had been "relegated to history" with the notions of "East" and "West" losing all but geographic relevance.

Cited as a key factor in the transition to a "new Europe" was the establishment of a co-operative security system through the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Byelorussian SSR Vyacheslav F. Kebich said non-military factors such as the creation of political structures, mutual understanding and beneficial trade were the "way of the future" in creating a stable "all-European house".

Several States noted the difficulties presented by the introduction of new political and economic régimes in Eastern Europe. President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria underlined the necessity of obtaining "new and modern technologies" and investment for the successful transition from centrally planned to market economies.

The predominately optimistic mood was tempered by consternation caused by the August 1990 Iraqi invasion and annexation of Kuwait. The region strongly supported UN Security Council resolutions asking Iraq to withdraw its troops from Kuwait. However, some suffered hardship due to the imposition of an economic embargo against Iraq. Poland estimated the cost of the UN action to its economy in 1990 at some $1.4 billion.

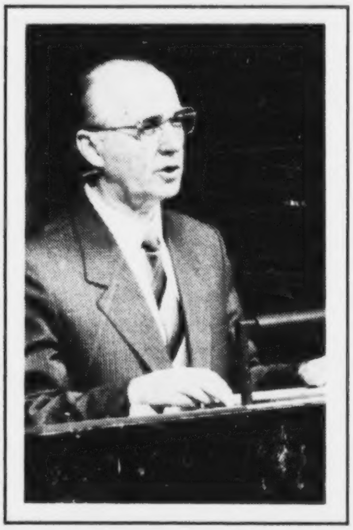
Two other issues to which Eastern European States attached great importance were minority rights and environmental protection.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky stressed the need to initiate the preparation of a binding instrument on the universal protection of the rights of national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities.

Czechoslovakian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said his Government had proposed a continent-wide effort to solve environmental problems, to be spearheaded by the European Community.

Prime Minister Vitali Masol of the Ukrainian SSR announced plans to establish an international research centre near the Chernobyl nuclear plant, in co-operation with the International Atomic Energy Agency. Both the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR had been declared national ecological disaster zones following the April 1986 accident at Chernobyl.

# From the debate . . .



UN Photo 176455/J. Isaac

**ALBANIA** Ramiz Alia, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, said that "mere exaltation of democracy and human rights" could not be "the magic key to the solution of the major, . . . dramatic problems" in Central and Eastern Europe. National minorities were the "source of all conflicts, squabbles and hatred among the Balkan States during this century". It was "high time" for the Balkan countries to "set themselves the goal of transforming the minorities from a bone of contention into a bridge for communication and co-operation".

UN Photo 176610/J. Isaac

**BULGARIA** President Zhelyu Zhelev said his country was currently in "a state of transition from totalitarian rule to democracy—that peculiar transitional state that some refer to as post-totalitarian". The "deep democratic changes that have taken place in less than a year" could lead to changes in Bulgaria's foreign policy, including the rejection of the doctrine of limited sovereignty, since it infringed Bulgaria's national independence and violated its national dignity and pride.

UN Photo 176318/J. Isaac

**BYELORUSSIAN SSR** Vyacheslav F. Kebich, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, recalled the "bitter experience" of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. Seventy per cent of the radioactive fall-out had appeared in the territory of the Byelorussian SSR, which had become a national ecological disaster zone.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA** Jiri Dienstbier, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, described the "rapid disintegration of the totalitarian structures in Central and Eastern Europe" as the "fruit of the activities of people yearning to live in freedom in a just, democratic and prosperous society". It was proof that "systems incapable of reflection and self-renewal at ever higher levels are doomed to passivity, rigidity and ultimately to extinction". The aim of Czechoslovakia's peaceful democratic revolution was "first and foremost to free men and women from fear, to restore to them their human dignity".

**HUNGARY** Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky noted the end of "the political ice-age" and the collapse of the "bipolar system laid down after Yalta". The peoples of Central Europe had "finally got rid of the Stalinist Party-State dictatorship, so alien to the traditions of European development" and had "set themselves the aim of establishing a form of State with the rule of law based on freedom, a market economy and the enjoyment of human rights".

**POLAND** Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski stated that during the past decade the concept and the ethics of solidarity had had an "unusual impact on public life in Poland" in spite of the "obvious counterweight" created by the realities of everyday politics. By introducing solidarity as the basic notion of public activity, Poles had shown that in a "world of unlimited egoism, violence, and the incredible richness of some and the inhuman deprivations and humiliating poverty of others", there was "a better road ahead".

UN Photo 176710/J Isaac

**ROMANIA** President Ion Iliescu said "subregional approaches" could stimulate a positive course of events in Europe. Romania had recently suggested the founding of a Forum for Security and Co-operation in the Balkans, aimed at improving relations among countries in that region. It had proposed a project for co-operation among the countries bordering the Danube, to include environmental protection, development of trade and economic co-operation, management of the water flow of the Danube, co-operation in the field of transportation and development of tourism.

**UKRAINIAN SSR** Prime Minister Vitali Masol stated that the law on economic independence adopted by the Ukrainian Parliament would help the Republic "assume a role in international affairs" that would match its political, economic, intellectual and cultural potential. His country attached great importance to establishing and expanding equal and mutually beneficial economic and trade relations with its European neighbours and with all other countries willing to co-operate. The Republic was now going through "a difficult period of transition and dealing with a complex social situation"; economic problems were "worsening" and political passions were "running high".

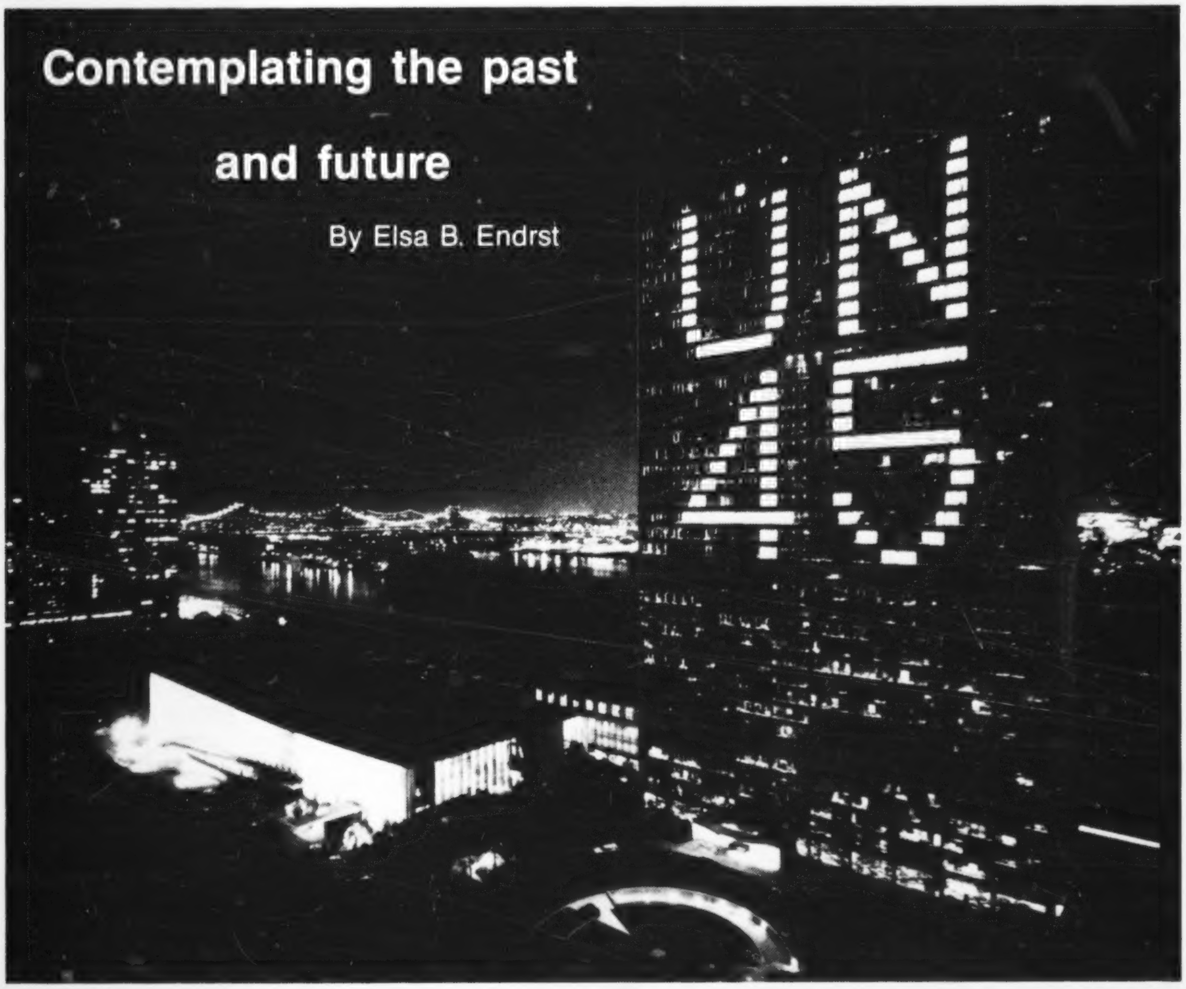
UN Photo 176779/M Grant

**USSR** Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that the world community should consider the possibility of "unconventional situations" arising from the "mass taking of hostages and cases of blackmail with threats of the use of particularly dangerous and destructive weapons". A group of experts for special contingencies could be set up under the auspices of the Security Council. This could include anti-terrorism experts, psychologists, nuclear scientists, chemists, physicians, disaster-relief organizers and experts on the physical protection of facilities. Upon the recommendation of its Military Staff Committee, the Council could also establish "a rapid-response force to be formed on a contract basis from units specially designated by different countries, including the five permanent members of the Security Council".

**YUGOSLAVIA** Borislav Jovic, President of the Presidency, said that favourable developments taking place in the present-day world were the fulfilment of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries' objectives and its opposition to "bloc polarization". But the "spectacular improvement in international relations" could not conceal the difficult economic position of, and grave conflict situations in, many developing countries. "The prerequisite for a tranquil and stable world is to complement the East-West political détente with an economic and social one between North and South."

UN Photo 176886/J Isaac

# A Look Back. . .The UN at 45



## Contemplating the past and future

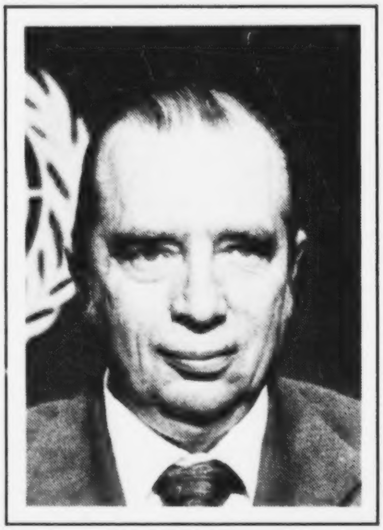
By Elsa B. Endrst

"An anniversary is a time for contemplation rather than celebration." So stated Robert Muller, Chancellor of the University for Peace and a former UN Assistant-Secretary-General, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations. "Member Nations must assess both the Organization's successes and failures and prepare for the twenty-first century." The world Organization, he said, is like "a fragile child which could be of tremendous joy if treated properly".

On United Nations Day—24 October 1990—in a statement made in observance of the UN's 45th anniversary, Guido de Marco of Malta, President of the General Assembly, remarked that, the United Nations was now approaching maturity. "It is doing so in a new and positive climate enhanced by a greater understanding between the super-Powers, the abandonment of power-bloc mentality and the full realization that the United Nations is there to guard against the threat and the use of force—a beacon for the observance of human rights and, perhaps, humanity's best hope for equitable global development," he said.

***The following are comments, many from UN officials and diplomats, made on the occasion of the world Organization's 45th anniversary.***

### William B. Buffum, retired Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs



UN Photo 165123/Y. Nagata

The hallmark of the UN's 45 years of existence lies in its growth, not only in the increase of membership from 51 to 159, but in the number and variety of critical services provided to the world community. With the dramatic advances in technology achieved since the end of World War II, especially in communication and transportation, developments in one country or region have had an increasing impact on the situation in others.

Using a variety of newly created instruments, including its family of specialized agencies, the UN has provided essential help in dealing with a multitude of global problems. For example, through the deployment of peace-keeping forces, the Organization has separated warring parties and prevented the spread of local conflicts.

In the economic and social fields, the UN has helped in a number of ways.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has provided a longer, happier life to millions of children; the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has meant the difference between life and death for literally tens of millions of refugees; and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) has taken important first steps in limiting the pollution of the small globe which we all inhabit.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has helped set limits on the dangers from the widespread increasing use of nuclear power, the World Health Organization (WHO) has an outstanding record in improving the world's health; the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) has materially contributed to feeding the vast number of people in the world who suffer from starvation; the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator (UNDRO) has helped coordinate the response of the international community to the tragedies of great natural disasters; and through the UN Human Rights Commission, the UN has achieved major advances in promoting a more humane world order, Mr. Buffum points out.

Many people over the years have erroneously ascribed to the UN the attributes of a world government. That has never been the case and can never be as long as countries continue to cling to the undiluted concept of national sovereignty. The reality is that the UN is an association of diverse independent States and can only do what its members are prepared to have it do. First there must be a political agreement among the members on what role the UN is authorized to play. Second, they must provide the resources necessary to get the job done. Too often the Organization has been criticized for failure to act in a certain way when it was really the members who should have been criticized for failing to use the many peace-keeping and peace-making resources the UN has to offer.

### Thérèse P. Sévigny, Under-Secretary-General for Public Information

UN Photo 169350/J. Isaac

In recent years we have seen that the UN has been asked to play a role in a growing number of international conflicts and problems. It is therefore logical to presume that UN services and mediation will be increasingly in demand in the coming years. I think it is crucial that we embark on a decade of enlarging grass-roots support.

Even those over 40, who may have had the benefit of having learned something about the Organization in school or university, really know very little about the current workings and responsibilities of the UN.

The public expects a great deal of the UN. The Organization's recent successes must be used to build a new dynamic approach to reach out to new audiences. We cannot succeed without the full support of all national media and international services, as well as the non-governmental organizations and the business community.

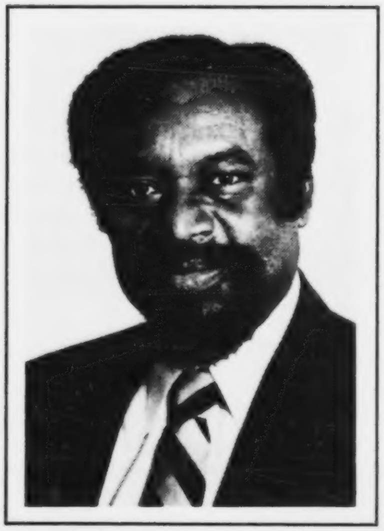
### Katherine D. Ortega, United States delegate to the 45th Assembly session, former Treasurer of the U.S. (1983-1989)

We have to view the UN as a very large, growing organization. It is evolving, and like any other large organization, it has to constantly look to see how it could become more efficient.

The new role of the UN has brought the world closer together. Representatives from around the globe are talking and consulting with each other. Even with the Gulf crisis, you see that they come together when an injustice has been done by one country against another.

The image of the UN has improved and the world Organization is accomplishing what it set out to do 45 years ago. It is working as a world body and attitudes have changed. Not only within the Organization, but it is now viewed as a positive force in the United States.

### Richard Akwei, former Chairman of the International Civil Service Commission and Ambassador from Ghana



UN Photo 163954/M. Grant

The UN has achieved many successes but has also registered some failures. This is because of an over-emphasis on national sovereignty which—fortunately or unfortunately—is the basis of the UN Charter. In matters of great importance such as peace and security if debates and decisions are based too much on national sovereignty, we cannot progress.

When "great Powers" feel that their national interests are threatened, they tend to take unilateral action. They tend to ignore critical voices in the United Nations and even bipass the organs of the UN which have been set up to deal with these problems. International law does not yet play the same role as national law in most nations. Until the UN is molded so that international law regulates the actions of Member States, we will have problems.

I believe that the Big Powers have a major responsibility to help develop some kind of permanent enforcement machinery which can guarantee the peace and security of all the Member States.

### Yasushi Akashi, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, former Japanese diplomat

UN Photo 169344/M. Grant

Since its inception, the United Nations has been beset by ideological as well as power confrontations between the West and the East. However, the present willingness of Washington and Moscow to operate in an atmosphere of trust and co-operation is remarkable.

The impact of public opinion has been significant in international affairs and in matters relating to the UN in general. It is also an important factor with regard to European disarmament. Public opinion in many, many Member States influences Governments to pay greater attention to economic, social and humanitarian matters.

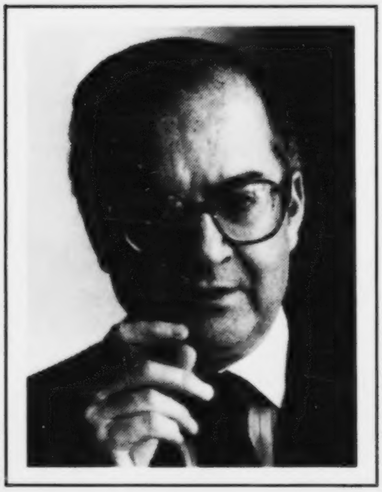
In the past, some States were preoccupied with military and strategic issues, but now there is a new definition, a new approach to the whole question of national security. The new notion is to define national security in very broad terms, not excluding security interests of other countries. In other words, mutual security, common security. Also, there are non-military aspects to security—the questions of development, of ecology, of human rights. All these matters affect security. So now there is a more global, more disciplinary approach to the question of security. This is the impact which public opinion has exerted upon Governments.

### Betty Jelstrup, retired Chief of the Peace and Security Studies Section of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs

It is overwhelming for me to see the Security Council work together unanimously. I believe that we now have gotten to the point where the permanent members stand together on principle. Reversion to the old way of confrontation is unlikely.

I would like to see further studies on how to improve the practices of the Security Council and the General Assembly to enhance the UN's public image and to avoid the year-after-year repetitious speeches in the General Assembly. Not every item has to be taken up again in perpetuity. Nearly every resolution asks for a report for the next session. If there is no change to report, we should say so and the item should be dropped from the next agenda.

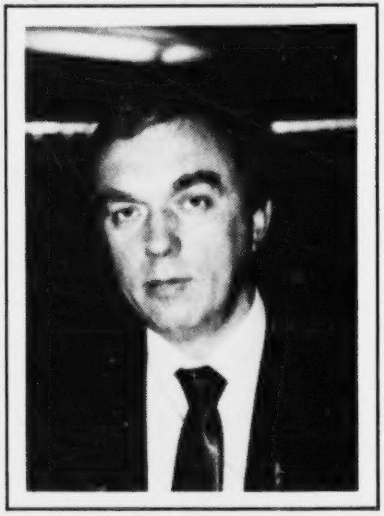
### Diego Cordovez, Foreign Minister of Ecuador, former UN Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs and Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Afghanistan



UN Photo

Today, as in the past, the world needs to strengthen the United Nations. Today, more than in the past, the international community must be governed by the postulates enshrined in the Charter and must build a new era of peace, security, development and democracy. Our tribute to the United Nations is a recognition of its noble spirit and of the constructive work it has steadfastly been carrying out, which gives expression to the world's hopes for a better future.

### Evgueni S. Menkes, Bureau Chief of Tass, the Soviet news agency, recently elected President of the United Nations Correspondents' Association. The first Soviet President of UNCA, this is his second assignment at UN Headquarters

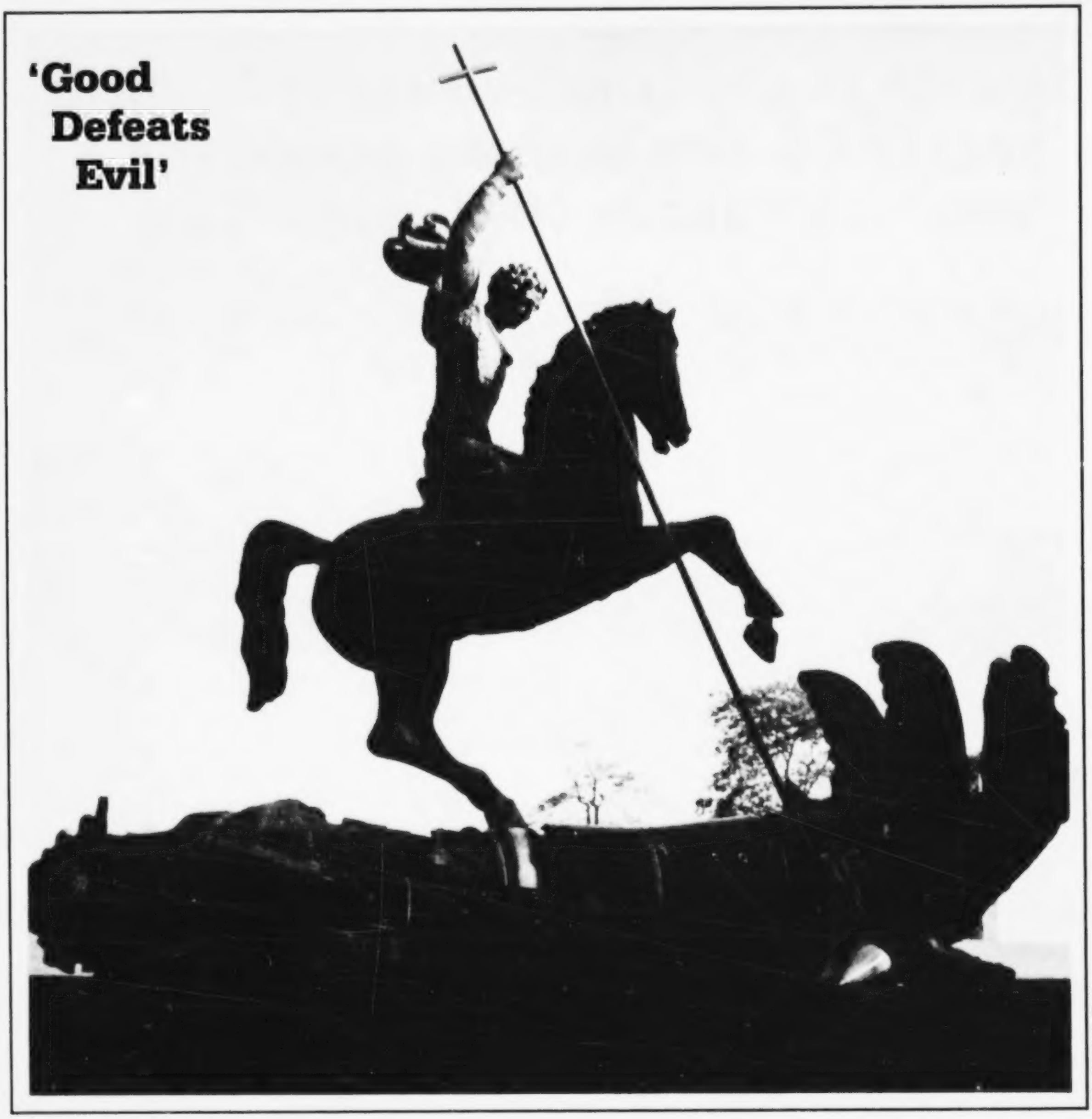


The situation at the United Nations has changed dramatically since 1979, when I first came here. At that time, every UN committee was filled with conflict and confrontation, which correspondents had to write about. In 1989, when I returned, the situation was totally different. There were more substantive discussions which often resulted in practical decisions. For a correspondent it is far more challenging to write an interesting story about constructive developments than it is on conflicts or crisis. However, despite ideological differences, the UN has been an organization trying to find a common denominator in order to harmonize different points of view.

### Alicia Gonzales, 13, Intermediate School 227 in Brooklyn, New York, winner of an essay contest sponsored by the Department of Public Information (DPI) in October 1990 on the subject "The United Nations in the New Millenium: Your Hopes for the Future"

"While world peace seems to be eons away, the United Nations seems to bridge that gap just a little more, so that we may just be able to catch up with it. The United Nations is a peace-maker battling an enormous army. Their victories may be small but they are effective, and each one brings us closer to our goal of universal harmony."

# 'Good Defeats Evil'



UN 176890/M. Grant

**SLAYING THE DRAGON OF WAR:** In the United Nations garden, a colossal St. George on horseback drives his lance through the cold metal heart of a late twentieth century dragon—an apocalyptic double-headed beast sculpted by Soviet artist Zurab Tsereteli from fragments of American and Soviet nuclear missiles. The 40-ton, 39-foot-high bronze sculpture entitled "Good Defeats Evil", unveiled on 5 October, is a gift from the Soviet Union to the UN on the occasion of the world Organization's 45th anniversary. It also commemorates the signing of the 1987 INF Treaty by which the United States and the USSR destroyed certain intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. In a vivid symbol of the post-cold war, two of the lethal weapons destroyed—a Soviet SS-20 and an American Pershing nuclear missile—now make up the monster's body.

'Use all necessary means': Resolution 678

# 'A pause of goodwill'—Security Council enacts 48-day waiting period for Iraqi compliance with resolutions

## *Speakers say use of force is now authorized in Persian Gulf area*

UN Photo 177113/M. Grant

REUTERS/BETTMANN

*And they wait . . .*

**The Security Council on 29 November demanded that Iraq fully comply with all Council resolutions adopted in connection with the situation between Iraq and Kuwait, specifying, in particular, its call in resolution 660 (1990) for immediate and unconditional withdrawal by Iraq from Kuwait which it had invaded and occupied since 2 August 1990.**

In adopting resolution 678 (1990), the Council specified a deadline—15 January 1991—for Iraqi compliance, dubbing the 48-day waiting period as "a pause of goodwill".

The Council, "determined to secure full compliance with its decisions", said it was allowing Iraq "one final opportunity" to comply.

Unless Iraq fully implemented all relevant resolutions, the Council, in paragraph 2 of the resolution, authorized Member States co-operating with the Government of Kuwait to use "all necessary means" to uphold and implement those resolutions "and to restore international peace and security in the area".

Resolution 678 specified that States should provide appropriate support for actions undertaken in pursuance of that provision.

The five-operative paragraph text, sponsored by Canada, France, Romania, USSR, United Kingdom and United States, was adopted by a vote of 12 in favour to 2 against (Cuba, Yemen), with 1 abstention (China).

"Today's resolution is very clear", the United States said, speaking after the vote. "The words authorize the use of force."

France said that if Iraq chose to remain "locked into the use of force", the Council had no other choice "but to resort to this same means".

The United Kingdom said that if Iraq did not comply fully with the relevant Council resolutions, Member States were "authorized to use such force as may be necessary to compel compliance".

The Council debate took place at a historic three-and-a-half hour meeting, at which 13 of its 15 members were represented by Foreign Ministers. It was only the fourth time in Council history that it had convened at such a high level. It was, in the words of Council President James A. Baker, the United States Secretary of State,

Meeting the press before leaving for Baghdad.

# Hostilities begin in Gulf area: Secretary-General expresses 'deep sorrow'

Hostilities began in the area of the Persian Gulf shortly after 7 p.m. New York time on 16 January 1991. It was some 19 hours after the deadline imposed by the United Nations in Security Council resolution 678 (1990) for Iraq to fully implement all Council resolutions relating to the Kuwait crisis.

"What can I tell you, dear friends?", Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar said to the press as he left the Secretariat building at 7:45 p.m. that night.

"After all my efforts, after all the efforts of so many countries and so many personalities, that we are now facing a war . . . I have not many details of what happened. But I think it is for me to express my deep sorrow.

"As Secretary-General of the United Nations, I can only be saddened by the beginning of hostilities."

United States President George Bush had informed Mr. Pérez de Cuellar by telephone at 6 p.m. of the impending military action. In a nation-wide television address later in the evening, the United States President said the military action was being taken in accord with UN resolutions, following "months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries".

The Secretary-General, after extensive diplomatic consultations, undertook a two-day peace mission to Baghdad on 12 and 13 January, meeting with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein for three and a half hours. On his return to New York on 14 January, Mr. Perez de Cuellar said his talks with President Hussein had been "polite but, unfortunately, unsuccessful".

one of the most important debates in UN history, one which would "surely do much to determine the future of this body".

Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar called the resolution "a decision of immense portent". It was not a question of "clothing a bellicose intent in persuasive language". In requiring compliance with Council resolutions, the UN "seeks not surrender but the most honourable way of resolving a crisis in a manner that respects all legitimate interests and is conducive to the wider peace and the rule of law".

## Chapter VII cited

The Council stated it was acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which deals with "action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression".

On 6 August—four days after the invasion—the Council in adopting resolution 661 (1990) imposed a series of economic and other sanctions against Iraq until it withdrew from Kuwait. The sanctions were widened by the adoption on 25 September of Council resolution 670 (1990). Articles 39, 40 and especially 41 of Chapter VII deal specifically with the invocation of sanctions.

Resolution 678 was one of three resolutions adopted between 29 October and 29 November, bringing to 12 the total number of Council texts adopted relating to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

In resolution 677 (1990), adopted on 28 November, the Council condemned Iraq's attempts to alter the demographic composition and destroy the civil records of Kuwait. In resolution 674 (1990), adopted on 29 October, the Council demanded that Iraq stop taking third-country nationals in Iraq and Kuwait hostage.

## To reverse aggression

In debate on resolution 678, Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Kuwait, said the resolution sent a "strong, unequivocal and unmistakable message . . . that aggression will be reversed and that the era of the use of force has come to an end once and for all". The intransigence of the Iraqi régime, which had "run amok", had pushed the region to a conflagration that Kuwait did not want. The question of Palestine was the first victim of Iraq's aggression.

Abdul Amir A. Al-Anbari of Iraq said the United States, which "totally dominated" the Council and "its arbitrary and biased procedures", had "impeded the adoption of just resolutions to safeguard the rights" of Palestinians. It was a "premeditated American policy" to gain control over the fate of the Middle East "for purely imperialistic reasons". Iraq desired peace for the entire Middle East region on the basis of the implementation of all Council resolutions in a just manner and in keeping with a single standard based on justice and fairness.

Abdalla Saleh Al-Ashtal of Yemen, who voted against the text, called it a "war resolution", which was "broad and vague", and not limited to enforcing the implementation of relevant Council resolutions. States with military forces in the area must decide on the

UN Photo

Deputy Prime Minister Al-Sabah of Kuwait

UN Photo

Mr. Al-Anbari of Iraq

prerequisites for the restoration of international peace and security in the region, which might well lead to a military confrontation on a larger scale. The Council would have no control over those forces, whose command would have nothing to do with the UN, "a classic example of authority without accountability", he said.

Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, the other dissenter, called the resolution "a virtual declaration of war, a fixed-term ultimatum before hostilities are launched". It was equivalent to giving the United States and its allies *carte blanche* to use their enormous sophisticated military capability. It violated the Charter by authorizing some States to use military force in total disregard of the procedures established by the Charter. The Council was supporting "a deadline for war".

China's Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who abstained, said the resolution permitted the use of military action, while China favoured a peaceful solution, thus China could not vote in favour. However, neither could it cast a negative vote, because it supported the call for Iraqi compliance with relevant Council resolutions.

UN Photo 177126/M. Grant

**Secretary of State Baker of the United States *(right)* with the Secretary-General at the Council table.**

## Threat must be met

United States Secretary of State Baker said the threat to international peace "created by Saddam Hussein's aggression" must be met. Iraq's leader must be convinced that the international community's "just and humane demands" could not be ignored. "We can take the high road towards peace and the rule of law, or we can take Saddam Hussein's path of brutal aggression and the law of the jungle." The choice, he said, was "between right and wrong".

Roland Dumas, Foreign Minister of France, said the resolution was "one last invitation" to implement Council resolutions, "coupled with a warning which itself opens the way to the use of direct means of action". It was consistent with "the logic of the attitude displayed by Iraq". He asked: "If Iraq chooses to remain deaf to the appeal to reason and respect for law . . . what other choice are we left with but to resort to this same means which would appear to be the only one it recognizes?"

UN Photo

**Foreign Minister Dumas of France**

UN Photo 177123/M. Grant

**Foreign Secretary Hurd of the United Kingdom *(left)***

Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, said the Council had met to make a strong bid for peace. No State represented on the Council had any zest for war. The obliteration of one Member State by another undermined and threatened the whole structure of international order. The resolution went "the last mile in search of peace". The Iraqis held the option for peace in their hands. They must either use that option or discard it. "The military option is reality, not bluff; if it has to be used, it will be used with the full backing of the Council."

Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR Foreign Minister, said the text was "one last sincere attempt to give common sense a chance to prevail; or . . . to give Iraq time to think about the consequences of any other than peaceful outcome" of the crisis. Those who had breached the peace should know that "all necessary means" would indeed be used inexorably against them. This "pause of goodwill" would usher in a transition to a political settlement.

## A collective determination

Joe Clark, Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, said that if the Council could sustain its collective determination, then a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute, which Canada viewed as necessary and urgent, might be within the Council's grasp. He hoped Iraq would comply with Council resolutions. The choice between peace and war was in Iraq's hands.

Luis Fernando Jaramillo, Minister for External Affairs of Colombia, said the resolution clearly expressed the Council's interest in allowing Iraq one last opportunity to withdraw its troops peacefully from Kuwait. That must not be misinterpreted by President Hussein, since the Council, in authorizing Member States to use all necessary means, was expressing a clear position which, if ignored, would place full responsibility on Iraq for ensuing developments.

Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire said the Iraqi leaders would not attain their objective of leading the international community to accept out of weariness a situation entailing the occupation, subjugation and destruction of an independent UN Member State. The international community could not allow a dangerous precedent to be set that would create serious threats to peace for the great majority of small States.

Tesfaye Dinka, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, said the Council was providing Iraq with one more chance to mend its ways and respect the will of the international community. The people of Kuwait rightfully demanded the immediate restoration of their sovereignty. The Council must not, therefore, wait much longer, "for justice delayed . . . could very well be justice denied".

Pertti Paasio, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland, said resolution 678 should be regarded as a warning. The Council was waiting for Iraq to respond to its message of peace and to give, in return, a message leading to reconciliation with the world community. It was not yet too late for Iraq to do what was necessary for the achievement of a peaceful solution to the crisis created by its own use of force against Kuwait.

Dato' Haji Abu Hassan Omar, Foreign Minister of Malaysia, said that when the Council provided authorization for countries to use force, those countries were fully accountable for their actions to the Council through a clear system of reporting and accountability,

**Deputy Prime Minister Dinka of Ethiopia**

which was not adequately covered in resolution 678. The resolution also did not "provide a blank cheque for excessive and indiscriminate use of force". He warned against any action "purportedly taken under" the resolution "that would lead to the virtual destruction of Iraq".

Adrian Nastase, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, said that every effort should be made to ease the existing tension politically and to solve the issues at stake by peaceful means, in accordance with Council resolutions. He hoped that resolution 678 would be "responsibly interpreted by all concerned, who will finally prove to have the necessary political wisdom". It was not too late to listen to the voice of reason.

Mushobekwa Kalimba wa Katana, Foreign Minister of Zaire, appealed to Iraq to recognize that the future and interests of the Iraqi people lay in peace and the promotion of relations of co-operation, not only with an independent Kuwait, but also with all countries that cherished peace and justice. "For a war . . . could only bring devastation, destruction and the annihilation of all the cultural and moral values that the Iraqi people hold dear."

UN Photo 177107/E Debebe

Kuwaiti citizens at UN Headquarters, after reporting on human rights abuses in their country.

## Resolution 677: Population register

In resolution 677, adopted on 28 November, the Council unanimously mandated the Secretary-General to take custody of a copy of Kuwait's population register, whose authenticity had been certified by Kuwait's legitimate Government, covering the registration of the population up to 1 August 1990. The Secretary-General was also asked to establish, in co-operation with Kuwait's legitimate Government, rules and regulations governing access to and use of that register.

The Council condemned Iraq's attempts to alter Kuwait's demographic composition and destroy its civil records.

The text was sponsored by Canada, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Finland, Kuwait, Romania, United Kingdom and Zaire.

On 27 November, Kuwait had presented to the Council testimonies—both live and videotaped—accusing Iraqi occupation forces of atrocities against Kuwaitis, including plundering of medical and hospital equipment, appropriation of hospitals for use as barracks, deaths of newborn infants removed from incubators by soldiers, and gang-rapes of women and girls. Property continued to be stolen and destroyed, and gold reserves were being plundered. Losses were estimated in the tens of billions of dollars.

## Resolution 674: On hostages

On 29 October, in adopting resolution 674 (1990), the Council demanded that Iraq immediately stop taking third-State nationals in Iraq and Kuwait hostage, that it stop mistreating and oppressing nationals of Kuwait and third States, and that it ensure their immediate access to food, water and basic services. Iraq was also asked to stop violating Council decisions, the UN Charter, the Fourth Geneva Convention, the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations and international law.

The vote was 13 in favour to none against, with 2 abstentions (Cuba, Yemen).

The Council also invited States to supply information regarding substantiated cases of mistreatment of their nationals. Citing Iraq's liability for any loss, damage or injury caused to foreign nationals and corporations as a result of its invasion and occupation of Kuwait, the Council invited States to collect information regarding such claims, with a view to establishing arrangements for restitution or financial compensation.

Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar was asked to seek to achieve the provision of food, water and basic services to Kuwaiti nationals and to the diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and the evacuation of third-State nationals.

If Iraq did not comply with resolution 674 and the previous Council resolutions, further measures under the Charter would be taken.

The Secretary-General was to make available his good offices and to pursue them, and undertake diplomatic efforts to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis on the basis of Council resolutions 660, 662 and 664. Among other things, these called for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, binding sanctions against Iraq and departure of third-country nationals from Iraq and Kuwait.

## Other action

On 5 December, four non-aligned members of the Security Council—Colombia, Cuba, Malaysia and Yemen—submitted to the Council a "peace plan" *(S/21986)* for the Persian Gulf, proposing a UN peace-keeping force to oversee withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

They stated that the Council could "serve the cause of peace no better than to work collectively to avoid the outbreak of war". The four nations advocated that sanctions be lifted and foreign troops withdrawn from the region immediately after the full withdrawal of Iraqi troops.

The Secretary-General should oversee diplomatic efforts to establish the basis for the settlement of the differences between Kuwait and Iraq, either through direct negotiations or use of the International Court of Justice, or any other legal procedures, they said.

The Secretary-General, in consultation with Iraq and Kuwait and other countries in the region, should facilitate the prompt adoption of measures under UN supervision to enhance security and stability through urgent regional and international arrangements. Those agreements could address mutual assurances for non-aggression, and arms and armed forces reduction.

The International Civil Aviation Organization, at its twenty-eighth session (Montreal, 22-26 October), condemned the plunder of Kuwait International Airport by Iraqi armed forces, including the seizure and removal to Iraq of 15 aircraft of Kuwait Airways and their purported registration by Iraq. Iraq was called upon to facilitate the early recovery by their owners of foreign registered aircraft stranded at Kuwait International Airport and to return the Kuwaiti aircraft to Kuwait's legitimate Government.

States, in whose territory any of those aircraft were found, were asked to hand them over to Kuwait's legitimate Government. All States were asked not to supply Iraq, its companies or nationals with any spare parts, equipment or supplies or services to enable Iraq to use the aircraft.

On 17 October, the Heads of State and Government of Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Maldives and Pakistan appealed *(S/21884)* to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to withdraw Iraqi troops from Kuwait, in compliance with relevant Security Council resolutions. They committed themselves to "contribute in every way possible to efforts at peacefully settling any outstanding contentious issues between Iraq and Kuwait that may underlie the dispute".

On 4 October, the non-aligned countries entrusted Yugoslavia, their Chairman, to seek a political solution to the crisis by peaceful means. They also emphasized that the prompt solution of the crisis should contribute to having the international community "approach with equal determination and urgency

## Sanctions Committee recommends aid

The Sanctions Committee—established by the Security Council in connection with resolution 661 (1990) of 6 August imposing trade sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait, to monitor the implementation of such sanctions and their economic effects on Member States—appealed to States on an urgent basis to provide immediate technical, financial and material assistance to 19 countries to mitigate the adverse impact on their economies of the sanctions.

The 19 countries are: Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, India, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritania, Pakistan, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Seychelles, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Tunisia, Uruguay, Viet Nam, Yemen and Yugoslavia.

The Committee's appeal was contained in two reports submitted to Council President Abdalla Saleh Al-Ashtal of Yemen, who asked the Council to implement the Committee's recommendations.

The 15-member Committee had met 22 times by the end of the year.

On 17 November, the Secretary-General convened a meeting of 20 eminent persons in Paris to discuss informally the consequences of the crisis on the world economy. Afterwards, he said he would form a "group of friends", numbering five of the participants chosen on a regional basis, as well as representatives of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the European Economic Community, to seek concrete action.

On 3 January 1991, Peter Hohenfellner of Austria was elected Committee Chairman to succeed Marjatta Rasi of Finland.

IMPACT VISUALS

Refugee camp on the Iraq-Jordan border.

the Arab-Israeli conflict, at the core of which is the problem of Palestine''

### Averting a 'human tragedy'

At a 10 October press conference in Geneva, the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General for Humanitarian Assistance relating to the Gulf Crisis, Sadruddin Aga Khan, said that many Kuwaitis and third-country nationals had described an increasing breakdown of law and order, as well as food shortages in Kuwait under Iraqi occupation.

On 16 October, the Office of the UN Disaster Relief Co-ordinator (UNDRO) reported that 708,970 third-country nationals who, since 5 August, had sought temporary refuge in Jordan after fleeing from Iraq and Kuwait, had returned to their countries of origin.

A ''human tragedy of immense proportion'' had thus been averted. There was no recent precedent for such a large-scale evacuation of third-country nationals. It stated that no epidemic outbreaks or deaths in the transit camps, directly attributable to camp conditions, had been reported.

UNDRO said Jordan had dealt effectively with the emergency, advancing about $50 million for the evacuation exercise.

## UNIIMOG mandate renewed

On 28 November, the Security Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) for two months until 31 January 1991. In unanimously adopting resolution 676 (1990), the Council also asked the Secretary-General to make recommendations after consultations with both parties on the future of UNIIMOG.

On 23 November, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar reported *(S/21960)* that the two sides had almost completed the process of withdrawal of their forces to the internationally recognized boundaries, as described in the 1975 Treaty concerning the State Frontier and Neighbourly Relations between Iran and Iraq. UNIIMOG had concentrated its efforts on supervising, verifying and confirming the withdrawal of both forces and their assumption of new positions on or close to the border. It had defused any local tensions that had occurred, he stated.

The Observer Group was established on 9 August 1988 to supervise a UN-sponsored cease-fire and troop withdrawal in the area. It consists of some 230 personnel from 25 countries. Brigadier-General S. Anam Khan of Bangladesh, Assistant Chief Military Observer on the Iraqi side, took command as UNIIMOG's Acting Chief Military Observer on 14 November, replacing Major-General Slavko Jovic of Yugoslavia.

# Security Council resolutions on the crisis in area of Persian Gulf

**RESOLUTION 660:** Condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and demanded an immediate and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal. Called for immediate and intensive negotiations between Iraq and Kuwait to resolve their differences (2 August, 14-0—Yemen did not participate in the vote).

**RESOLUTION 661:** Imposed comprehensive economic sanctions against Iraq under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and asked for an end to Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Established a special committee to monitor the sanctions process (6 August, 13-0-2).

**RESOLUTION 662:** Declared Iraq's annexation of Kuwait as "null and void" (9 August, 15-0).

**RESOLUTION 664:** Demanded that Iraq permit and facilitate the immediate departure from Iraq and Kuwait of third-country nationals and that no action be taken to jeopardize their safety, security or health. Demanded that Iraq rescind its orders to close diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and withdraw immunity of their personnel (18 August, 15-0).

**RESOLUTION 665:** Endorsed a naval blockade of Iraq. Asked States concerned to use the Council's long-inactive Military Staff Committee to co-ordinate their actions (25 August, 13-0-2).

**RESOLUTION 666:** Dealt with humanitarian needs arising from the imposition of sanctions. Requested the Secretary-General to obtain information in that regard, particularly as to children under 15 years of age, expectant mothers, maternity cases, the sick and the elderly. Asked Iraq to ensure the safety of "third-State nationals" (13 September, 13-2).

**RESOLUTION 667:** Strongly condemned "aggressive acts" by Iraq against diplomatic premises and personnel in Kuwait. Demanded the immediate release of foreign nationals (16 September, 15-0).

**RESOLUTION 669:** Dealt with an increasing number of requests for assistance to countries affected by the sanctions process. Entrusted the Sanctions Committee, established under resolution 661, to act on those requests (24 September, 15-0).

**RESOLUTION 670:** Confirmed that sanctions applied to all means of transport, including aircraft, and spelled out specific exceptions. Reiterated its call for strict and complete compliance with the sanctions (25 September, 14-1).

**RESOLUTION 674:** Demanded that Iraq cease taking third-state nationals in Iraq and Kuwait hostage, stop mistreating and oppressing nationals of Kuwait and third States, and ensure their immediate access to food, water and basic services. Reposed its trust in the Secretary-General to undertake diplomatic efforts to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis on the basis of Council resolutions 660, 662 and 664 (29 October, 13-0-2).

**RESOLUTION 677:** Condemned Iraq's attempts to alter the demographic composition and destroy the civil records of Kuwait. Mandated the Secretary-General to take custody of a copy of Kuwait's population register and to establish rules and regulations governing access to and use of that register (28 November, 15-0).

**RESOLUTION 678:** Authorized the use of "all necessary means to uphold and implement" all relevant Council resolutions and "to restore international peace and security in the area" if Iraq did not fully implement those resolutions on or before 15 January 1991. Demanded that Iraq comply fully with those resolutions and decided, "while maintaining all its decisions, to allow Iraq one final opportunity, as a pause of goodwill, to do so" (29 November, 12-2-1).

# Security Council asks for urgent efforts to monitor Palestinian civilian situation

UNITED KINGDOM
UNITED STATES

UN Photo 177157/M. Grant

*The vote was unanimous.*

The Security Council on 20 December requested Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar to make new efforts on an "urgent basis" to monitor and observe the situation of Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation. He was asked to "utilize and designate or draw upon" the UN and other personnel and resources present in the area and elsewhere needed to accomplish that task.

In unanimously adopting resolution 681 (1990), the Council also called on the High Contracting Parties to the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War to ensure respect by Israel for its obligations under the Convention. The Secretary-General was asked to develop further the idea of convening a meeting of those parties and discuss possible measures that might be taken by them under the Convention.

The Council deplored Israel's decision to resume deportation of Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories, and urged it to accept *de jure* applicability of the Convention to "all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967" and to abide scrupulously by the Convention's provisions.

A series of Council meetings on the protection of Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation in the occupied territories began on 12 October, following the deaths of over 20 Palestinians and injury to more than 150 people, including "Palestinian civilians and innocent worshippers" on 8 October after action by Israeli security forces at the Al Haram Al Shareef and other Holy Places of Jerusalem. (The Al Haram Al Shareef is the Al-Aqsa Mosque, considered the third holiest shrine of Islam.)

## Political solution needed

At the Council meeting on 20 December, Thomas R. Pickering of the United States said its positive vote in no way indicated a change in United States policy on any issue related to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Linkage of the solution of the Gulf crisis with the Arab-Israeli conflict would be wrong. Urging Israel to ensure respect for the Fourth Geneva Convention, the United States also condemned the increasing attacks on Israelis and the deaths which had resulted, just as it condemned attacks on Palestinians. Israel should immediately and permanently cease deportations of Palestinians and comply fully with the Convention.

UN Photo 177082/M. Grant

Yoram Aridor of Israel

UN Photo 176963/M. Grant

Nasser Al-Kidwa, Observer for Palestine

Yoram Aridor of Israel said the Council's request for renewed efforts to monitor and observe the situation regarding Palestinian civilians was another instance of singling out Israel. A "so-called" international peace conference was "a tool for the imposition of a predetermined outcome". The only road to peace was through direct negotiations between Israel and its neighbours. Israel had the right "in the appropriate circumstances to expel terrorists".

Nasser Al-Kidwa, Observer for Palestine, said the Council had made "important, substantial progress towards protecting the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation, towards the creation of the machinery necessary for the purpose, towards the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the core of that conflict, the question of Palestine, and towards the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in the region".

Jean-Marc Rochereau de La Sabliere of France stressed the urgent need to bring about a political solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Opening up a dialogue was necessary to gain the prospect of a political settlement through negotiation.

Sir David Hannay of the United Kingdom said Palestinians in the occupied territories deserved a greater degree of protection against Israeli breaches of the Fourth Geneva Convention, including the resumed policy of deportation.

Yuliy M. Vorontsov of the USSR said an "additional stimulus has been given to the process towards settling the Middle East problem as a whole". He wanted practical preparations for an international conference.

China did not speak on the occasion, but at a Council meeting on 5 December, Li Daoyu called on Israel to fulfil its Charter obligations. Any attempts by Israel to change the character and status of Jerusalem were illegal.

On 15 November, Colombia, Cuba, Malaysia and Yemen had circulated a draft resolution *(S/21933)* which would have called for the stationing of military observers in Jerusalem and the deployment of the UN Truce Supervision Organization in the occupied Palestinian territories to monitor the situation there.

Following consultations, a new text *(S/22022)* was adopted on 20 December as Council resolution 681 (1990).

## 12 October: Resolution 672

In resolution 672 (1990), the Council expressed alarm at the violence which had taken place on 8 October at "the Al Haram Al Shareef and other Holy Places of Jerusalem" and condemned acts of violence by the Israeli security forces "resulting in injuries and loss of human life".

Israel was asked to abide scrupulously by the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention which, it said, applied to all territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

The Council welcomed the Secretary-General's decision to send a mission to the region, asking for a report before 31 October and that UN resources in the region be used to carry out that mission.

The mission was to look into the circumstances surrounding the "tragic events" in Jerusalem and other similar developments in the occupied territories, and recommend ways to ensure the "safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation".

In debate, Nasser Al-Kidwa, Observer for Palestine, considered the resolution "inadequate", not taking into account "the realities, especially in the occupied territories".

Johanan Bein of Israel said the text failed to condemn the cause of the tragic events in Jerusalem—"an unprovoked Arab attack on Jewish worshippers at the holiest site of the Jewish people: the Western Wall".

## 24 October: Resolution 673

On 24 October, the Council deplored Israel's refusal to receive the Secretary-General's mission to the region, urging it to reconsider that decision.

In unanimously adopting resolution 673 (1990), the Council also asked the Secretary-General to submit to it the report requested in resolution 672, and affirmed its determination to give "full and expeditious" consideration to the report.

In his 31 October report *(S/21919)*, the Secretary-General said that the Security Council might wish to convene a meeting of the High Contracting Parties to the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention to discuss measures for the safety and protection of Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories.

Under the Fourth Geneva Convention, the International Committee of the Red Cross had a definite role with regard to the protection of Palestinian civilians, he said.

## UNDOF Mandate extended

On 30 November, the Security Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) for a six-month period, until 31 May 1991. The Council acted unanimously in adopting resolution 679 (1990). UNDOF was created in 1974 to maintain and supervise the cease-fire in the Golan Heights area between Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic. The 1,331-member Force draws troops from Austria, Canada, Finland and Poland.

UNDOF Photo

Finnish soldiers from UNDOF with local farmer.

## Peace process 'stalled'

# Assembly reiterates call for Middle East peace conference

The General Assembly has called once again for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, reaffirming its conviction that the core of the conflict in the region is the question of Palestine.

It called for the conference to be held under UN auspices, with the participation of all parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), on an equal footing, and the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The Security Council was asked to consider guarantees for security measures agreed upon by the conference for all States in the region.

The Assembly adopted a total of eight resolutions on 6 and 13 December, after separate debates on the situation in the Middle East and the question of Palestine.

On 12 November, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar reported *(A/45/709-S/21929)* that sufficient agreement did not exist, either within the Security Council or among the parties to the conflict, to permit the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

In another report *(A/45/726-S/21947)* on 26 November, he told the Assembly that "the prospects for progress in the Arab-Israeli peace process appear regrettably to have stalled". A comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the situation in the Middle East could best be achieved through a negotiating process that involved all the parties concerned, including the PLO, and was based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the "legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people, including self-determination".

UNRWA Photo/M. Nasr

## A just solution

In other resolutions, the Assembly declared that peace in the region was indivisible and must be based on a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem. Such a solution, it stated, would ensure the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and the other occupied Arab territories, and would enable the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, to exercise its inalienable rights, including the establishment of its independent sovereign State in Palestine.

## To resolve the situation

Israel in debate said the very core of the Arab-Israeli conflict was "the refusal of the Arab world to come to terms with the right of the Jewish people to renew their independence on a small sliver of land at the periphery of the Middle East. . . . All other issues, including the Palestinian issue, can be resolved only when the Arab world reconciles itself with the existence of a Jewish State."

The United States said the resolutions—"generally tired renditions of those adopted in earlier years—offered only more empty rhetoric and inflammatory accusations. Such divisive language does not promote but retards the cause of peace."

The General Assembly, on the recommendation of its Special Political Committee, adopted 11 resolutions on 11 December concerning Palestine refugees, including a call for the guarantee of their legal and human rights, resettlement and housing, compensation for lost property, education, financing of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), and restoring the general ration.

# Assembly reasserts UN peace role in Central America

## *El Salvador human rights verification envisaged*

**Expressing its "strongest support" for continuing negotiations to reach a firm and lasting peace in Central America, the General Assembly on 20 November adopted a consensus resolution *(45/15)* detailing efforts by countries of the region to achieve that goal.**

It commended, in particular, UN efforts to encourage a negotiated political settlement of the Salvadorian conflict, welcomed the agreement on economic and social co-ordination reached in Nicaragua and encouraged the Government of Guatemala to continue supporting the national reconciliation process.

The Assembly cited as the basis for the search for peace the "Procedures for the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Central America", signed on 7 August 1987 in Guatemala City by the Presidents of the five Central American countries—Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua—at the Esquipulas II summit meeting.

The peoples of Central America, it was convinced, "wish to achieve peace, reconciliation, development and justice, without outside interference, in accordance with their own decision and their own historical experience, and without sacrificing the principles of self-determination and non-intervention".

### Focus on El Salvador

In resolution 45/15, the Assembly also fully endorsed the Secretary-General's "active role" as an intermediary in strengthening and accelerating the negotiation process between the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), and called on both parties "to make every possible effort" to achieve peace.

Later that day, it was reported that the FMLN had renewed operations against military targets in El Salvador.

In a statement, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar made "a fervent appeal for restraint at this critical juncture". He said he trusted and expected the FMLN to adhere to its commitment, reiterated to him "as recently as September", to refrain "from certain categories of actions in order to strengthen confidence in its political will and in the Secretary-General's good offices".

The Governments of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua asked Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar to personally intervene with the FMLN in ensuring a rapid cessation of the hostilities. The United States fully supported their request and also endorsed "without

REUTERS/BETTMAN R87265059

**A historic moment for Central America: signing of the 1987 Guatemala Agreements.**

reservations" the Secretary-General's appeal for restraint.

The Group of Three—Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela—called for "an immediate cessation of hostilities". The Soviet Union asked the parties "to put an end to the bloodshed and to make new efforts with the aim of reaching political agreements and instituting a cease-fire as soon as possible".

Resolution 45/15 underscored the international community's increasing political will to help end the more than a decade of bloody strife in El Salvador. The message was equally loud and clear during the Assembly debate on the situation in Central America, with most speakers asking for an end to violence and for a negotiated solution.

## ONUSAL—a new operation

In another sign of wide international support for a peaceful settlement, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council on 21 December *(S/22031)* that he would request shortly authorization to establish a UN Observer Mission in El Salvador. ONUSAL—as the mission will be known—will monitor agreements concluded between El Salvador and FMLN. It would be, he said, a "complex operation, for which no precedent exists in the annals of the United Nations".

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar recommended that the human rights verification component of ONUSAL be established first. While talks continue on other substantive agenda items, so far, only one substantive agreement—on human rights and UN verification thereof—has been reached. Both parties want the human rights verification mechanism in place as soon as possible, without waiting for a cease-fire or the conclusion of other pending agreements.

UN Photo 157234/S Johansen

**The Assembly endorsed international support for economic and social advancement in the region.**

## Human rights

In another resolution *(45/172)* adopted by consensus on 18 December, the Assembly, on the recommendation of its Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural), expressed "its deep concern about the persistence of politically motivated violations of human rights in El Salvador, such as summary executions, torture, abductions and enforced disappearances, and about the atmosphere of intimidation in which certain sectors of the population live".

Expressing its "deep concern" about the "unsatisfactory" capacity of the judicial system, the Assembly deplored "the irregularities in the judicial proceedings in connection with the assassination of the Rector and other members of the Central American University in 1989 and the lack of co-operation on the part of certain sectors of the armed forces which has impeded full clarification of such an abominable crime and the punishment of the guilty persons".

The Assembly took action after considering a report *(A/45/630)* on the human rights situation in El Salvador prepared by José Antonio Pastor Ridruejo, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights.

El Salvador said the resumption of the peace process was a prerequisite to the protection of human rights in the country. To that end, it intended to lay greater emphasis on the Secretary-General's role and to implement the recent human rights agreement between El Salvador and FMLN.

## Nicaragua, Guatemala: reconciliation encouraged

Also in resolution 45/15, the Assembly welcomed the agreement on economic and social co-ordination reached on 26 October by the Government of Nicaragua and employers' and workers' organizations, and endorsed Nicaragua's request for international support, including "preferential treatment" from the international community and international lending agencies.

The Assembly also encouraged the Government of Guatemala "to continue to support the national

UN Photo 157593/S. Johansen

## ONUCA mandate extended

The Security Council on 5 November voted unanimously to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA) for another six-month period through 7 May 1991. Shown above, an ONUCA encampment where arms were surrendered and destroyed in April 1990.

reconciliation process by pursuing its dialogue with the various sectors in order to achieve a peaceful settlement of the lengthy confrontation which has been taking place in Guatemala".

Since May 1990, Guatemala's National Reconciliation Commission had organized five meetings in different countries between representatives of the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG) and the political parties, private enterprises, religious and popular groups, among others. Talks between the Government and the General Command of URNG are envisaged next.

By the same text, the Assembly asked Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar to continue to support the negotiation process and the verification of any agreements reached through the Security Commission, set up by the five Central American Governments.

At a July 1990 meeting in San José, Costa Rica, members agreed that the Commission's objectives were to ensure the defensive nature of armed forces of the countries of the region, establish "a reasonable balance" among them, define a new model for security relations and secure commitments with respect to the foreign military presence in the region.

With UN help, the Commission's technical sub-committee, at a meeting in Guatemala City in mid-October, prepared a draft model for conducting inventories of military installations, personnel and weapons of the military and security forces of the Central American countries.

## Special Plan extended

In another consensus resolution *(45/231)*, the Assembly on 21 December decided to extend through 1993 the Special Plan of Economic Co-operation for Central America and urged all UN agencies and the international community to actively support that effort. The Special Plan, launched in 1988 by the Assembly, has so far mobilized over $400 million in resources for social, political and economic development in that troubled region.

A resolution *(45/141)* adopted by consensus on 14 December, on projects to aid Central American refugees, returnees and displaced persons, stressed the need to foster the participation of women, the physical and intellectual development of children, the preservation of ethnic and cultural values and the protection of the environment. The international community was urged to continue supporting those projects.

## Declaration of Puntarenas

At a summit meeting held in Puntarenas, Costa Rica from 15 to 17 December, the five Central American Presidents committed themselves "to the establishment of a new model of regional security" and reviewed progress in that area. The 16-page Declaration of Puntarenas *(A/45/906-S/22032)* also focuses on regional economic integration, development, refugees, education, environment, human rights, drugs, debt and other common socio-economic concerns.

In a separate Declaration on the situation in El Salvador, the Presidents of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua undertook "to constitute themselves as a mechanism to follow up the process of negotiation between the Government and FMLN".

# Haiti holds free, democratic elections with UN help

*Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a 37-year-old Catholic priest, was elected President of Haiti on 16 December in that nation's first free and democratic elections. The largely violence-free electoral process and voting were closely monitored by the United Nations Observer Group for the Verification of the Elections in Haiti (ONUVEH).*

UN Photo

**Celebration in Port-au-Prince street after the elections.**

Describing the elections as "highly successful", the Secretary-General's Personal Representative for Haiti, João Augusto de Medicis, told the press on 21 December that Haiti had taken "a great step towards democracy".

Success was attributed widely to the determination and discipline of the Haitian people, the professional behaviour of the Haitian Army, which kept its promise to guarantee the security of the elections, and ONUVEH's crucial security and electoral work. Hundreds of observers from the Organization of American States (OAS) and non-governmental groups were also present on election day.

Personal Representative de Medicis, a senior Brazilian diplomat who headed the innovative UN operation—the first one in an independent nation not involved in a regional conflict—acknowledged that there had been some logistical and organizational problems. But those problems, he stressed, had "no effect on the course of the election, which had taken place in tranquility, serenity and liberty".

## Some frustrated voters

The main incidents had to do with polling places opening late or lacking ballot papers. In some of the poorest neighbourhoods of the country's capital city, Port-au-Prince, frustrated voters had to wait until the afternoon to cast their votes. Practically all polling places there, serving a population of some 250,000 people, had no ballots when they opened in the morning.

Suspecting fraud, angry crowds started forming, but "the problem was solved without violence, thanks to a constant dialogue between security forces, electoral authorities, the population and the UN observers", ONUVEH reported.

President-elect Aristide, candidate of the Front national pour le changement et la démocratie (FNCD), won by a landslide—67.5 per cent of the vote. Marc Bazin of the Alliance nationale démocratique populaire (ANDP) obtained 14.2 per cent of the total. The remaining 18.3 per cent was distributed among nine other candidates.

These percentages were computed by the Provisional Electoral Council, the Haitian body that organized the elections, on the basis of a 50.2 per cent participation rate, which did not take into account more than half a million void, blank or uncounted ballots, ONUVEH officials reported. The large number of unusable ballots was attributed to organizational shortcomings, not fraud.

ONUVEH estimated that between 62.5 per cent and 71.4 per cent of the 3,227,155 registered voters had cast their ballots.

Voters were also asked to choose 27 senators, 83 deputies, 135 municipal counselors and 565 three-member communal section governing councils. (A second round of balloting was to take place at the end of January 1991 for senators and deputies who did not receive an absolute majority in the first round.)

CENTRAL AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN ISLANDS
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEXICO
HAITI
HONDURAS
EL SALVADOR
NICARAGUA
CARIBBEAN SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
COLOMBIA
VENEZUELA

UN Photo

Immediately after the polls closed, ONUVEH proceeded to a "quick count" of the votes, in co-operation with the OAS. Using a highly accurate technique that was successfully tried in the 1989 Nicaraguan elections, a projection of the outcome of the elections was made, based on samplings of representative polling stations around the country.

The projected outcome was communicated by midnight to the main candidates and to the Provisional Electoral Council. The purpose was "to indicate that the international community knew the general trend of the outcome, thus discouraging any temptation to manoeuver against that trend", ONUVEH reported.

By election day, a total of 193 ONUVEH observers from 43 countries were deployed throughout the country. Backed by a large radio communications network and a fleet of 112 vehicles, they visited 1,800 of the 14,000 polling places. A core group of 39 observers, most of them veterans of recent UN electoral monitoring in Namibia and Nicaragua, had been operating since mid-October in Haiti's nine departments, including the capital city. The chief of electoral observers was Horacio Boneo, who was Deputy Chief of the UN Observation Mission for the Verification of Elections in Nicaragua (ONUVEN).

## Calm disrupted

Except for "the tragic events of 5 December", the voter registration drive and the election campaign during October and November had been virtually violence-free, ONUVEH stated in its first report, released on 14 December *(A/45/870)*. On the night of 5 December, a hand-grenade attack at the end of a pro-Aristide rally in Port-au-Prince killed seven persons and seriously injured more than 50 others, including women and children. The attack "darkened the atmosphere of the campaign, causing the FNCD candidate to cancel his visits to southern departments", ONUVEH reported.

Personal Representative de Medicis quickly went on Haitian national radio and television to assure a worried population that the UN stood firmly behind its commitment to help conduct the elections. He was assured by Haitian Chief of Staff General Hérard Abraham that all security measures agreed upon would be implemented.

ONUVEH security observers, headed by Brigadier-General Gabriel Zuliani of Canada, had worked closely with General Abraham and the Haitian armed forces since October to prepare an electoral security plan and observe its implementation throughout the country.

The 64 security observers, most of them with experience in peace-keeping operations, came from Algeria, Canada, Colombia, France, Spain and Venezuela.

## Towards democratic elections

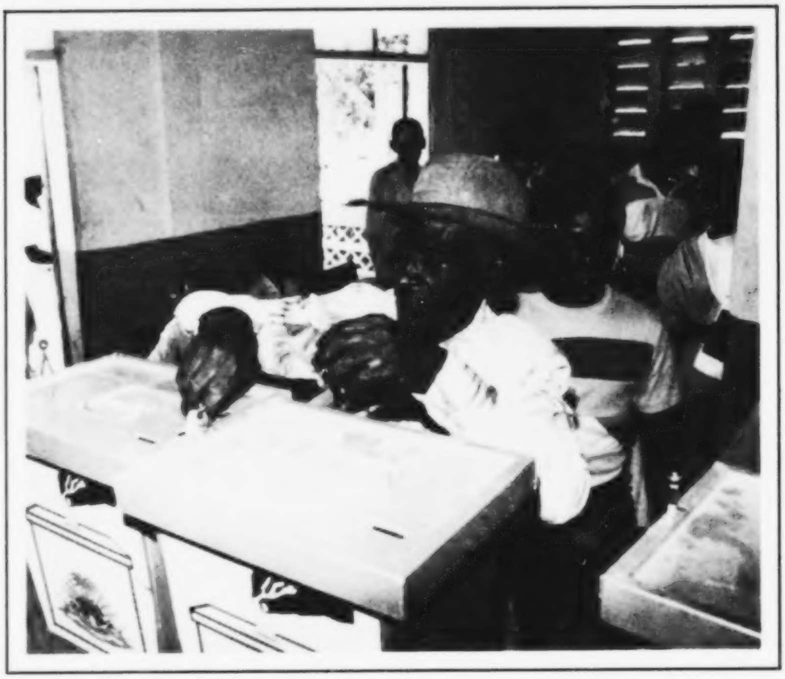
"In a country that had been traumatized by the experience of the elections on 29 November 1987, the first task of ONUVEH was to help create a psychological climate conducive to the holding of democratic elections", the Observer Group stated.

The 1987 elections had been canceled after a campaign of terror, culminating on election day with the massacre of some 80 persons throughout the country, with 200 more injured. Also, a presidential candidate and a leading political figure had been assassinated.

"These crimes have created a feeling of insecurity which is all the more acute because those responsible have not been sought out or arrested. No serious inquiry appears to have been conducted", ONUVEH said.

## A complex context

The 1990 elections—and ONUVEH's work—took place in a difficult and complex social, political and material context. Haiti has no permanent electoral body or voter registry and civil registry records are unreliable. Nearly four fifths of the population are illiterate and live in conditions of extreme poverty. Many roads are barely passable. Communications networks are tenuous.



**At the polling place.**

Although a strong and pervasive grassroots movement for democracy and social change has developed in the past few years and freedom of expression is virtually absolute today, guaranteed by an independent print and electronic media, there has been almost no democratic tradition in Haitian politics. Violence has been the traditional backdrop for settling conflicts and choosing leaders.

The Duvalier family ruled the country for 29 years—from 1957 to 1986—when Jean-Claude Duvalier, who had inherited the title of "President for Life" from his father, François, left the country. Since then, Haiti has had a succession of governments, each the product of either a *coup d'état* or apparently questionable elections.

In spite of those difficulties, the Haitian people were able to vote "in a climate of freedom and security, free from all pressures", ONUVEH concluded.

## ONUVEH established

ONUVEH was established by the Secretary-General following the adoption by consensus on 10 October 1990 of General Assembly resolution 45/2, by which the Assembly approved a plan for electoral assistance to Haiti at a cost of up to $6.5 million.

Agreement was reached after extensive consultations among Member States, four months after Haiti's Provisional President Ertha Pascal-Trouillot officially requested aid.

Hope that the Assembly would take urgent action had been expressed by Security Council members on 5 October. It was important, they said, that the Secretary-General respond positively and "on an urgent basis" to the Haitian request *(S/21847)*.

On 21 December, shortly after the elections, the Assembly asked the Secretary-General to consult with the Government of Haiti as soon as possible concerning the launching of a special emergency assistance programme.

# Consensus on political settlement for Cambodia reached

A draft agreement on a comprehensive political settlement for Cambodia was reported on 26 November in a communiqué of the five permanent members of the Security Council—China, France, USSR, United Kingdom, United States—issued by the Co-Chairmen, France and Indonesia, of the Paris Conference on Cambodia (PCC).

Consensus was reached at meetings from 23 to 26 November in Paris, attended by the "Big Five", Under-Secretary-General Rafeeuddin Ahmed and a representative of Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, Co-Chairman of the PCC.

The agreed draft text covered the major aspects of the settlement, including annexes, dealing with: a proposed mandate for a UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC); withdrawal, cease-fire and related measures; elections; repatriation of refugees and displaced persons; and principles for a new constitution.

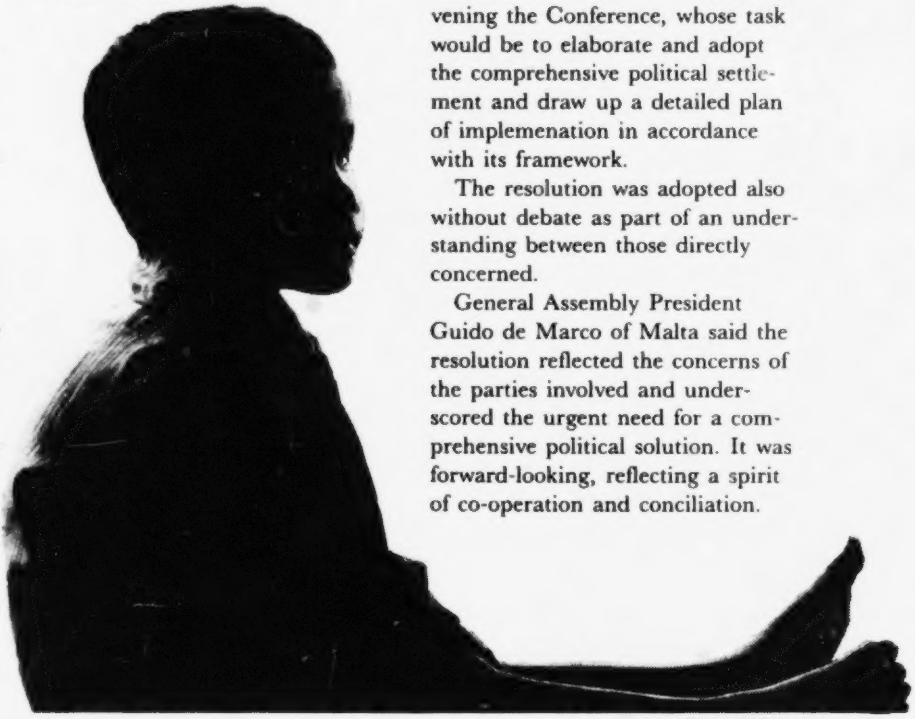
A separate draft agreement concerning the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality and national unity of Cambodia and a draft declaration on rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia were also elaborated.

The agreement paved the way for the reconvening of the peace conference at the ministerial level.

Cambodians themselves, it was stated, must contribute to the peace process through the Supreme National Council (SNC)—a "unique legitimate body" in which national sovereignty and unity would be enshrined during the transitional period. The Co-Chairmen and the Five strongly urged the Cambodians to ensure that the SNC was fully functioning so that the Conference could be reconvened.

The Cambodian parties are: the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Co-operative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC), headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk; the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), led by Son Sann; the Party of Democratic Kampuchea (PDK), led by Khieu Samphan; and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, led by Heng Samrin.

The Five reaffirmed their view that they would welcome the election of Prince Sihanouk as Chairman of the SNC. The possible expansion of the SNC and the vice-chairmanship should be decided, they felt, by the Cambodians themselves through consultations, "flexibly and in a spirit of national reconciliation".



UN Photo 141082/J. Isaac

On 18 October, the Five had expressed concern on the continuing difficulties of the SNC over its presidency and its "consequent inability to form a delegation to occupy Cambodia's UN seat".

## Assembly action

On 15 October, the General Assembly urged the Cambodian leaders, in working towards the goal of a comprehensive political settlement, to co-operate in assuming their responsibilities to achieve national reconciliation.

In adopting resolution 45/3 by consensus, the world body also urged all parties to the conflict to exercise maximum self-restraint to create the peaceful climate needed for a comprehensive political settlement.

The Co-Chairmen of the PCC were called upon to intensify their consultations with a view to reconvening the Conference, whose task would be to elaborate and adopt the comprehensive political settlement and draw up a detailed plan of implemenation in accordance with its framework.

The resolution was adopted also without debate as part of an understanding between those directly concerned.

General Assembly President Guido de Marco of Malta said the resolution reflected the concerns of the parties involved and underscored the urgent need for a comprehensive political solution. It was forward-looking, reflecting a spirit of co-operation and conciliation.

# Seek political solution for Afghanistan

UNHCR/2002/03 1990/A. Hollmann

The situation relating to Afghanistan cannot be resolved except by political means, through a consensus at both the international and national levels. So stated Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar in his 17 October report to the General Assembly on the subject *(A/45/635-S/21879)*.

The time had come, he believed, to define the emerging international consensus in a more concrete manner in order to give the necessary impetus to the political settlement of the Afghan conflict.

This consensus should comprise, first and foremost, the recognition of the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future, free from outside interference, as well as the necessity for a credible and impartial transition mechanism with appropriate powers and authority, as may be agreed, that would allow the Afghans to participate in a free and fair election process, taking into account Afghan traditions.

The consensus should further indicate the need for a cessation of hostilities and a halt to the arms supply to all sides, as well as the necessity for the implementation of all other transitional arrangements.

The Secretary-General stressed that the plight of the Afghan people had always been of great concern to him and that it was his belief that the emerging international consensus would recognize the need for international economic assistance to the Afghan population which had suffered for far too long.

## Assembly Action

Following the report of the Secretary-General, a comprehensive political solution to the conflict in Afghanistan was called for by the General Assembly which unanimously adopted resolution 45/12 on 7 November. All parties were asked to work urgently for the achievement of such a solution, the cessation of hostilities and the creation of conditions of peace and normalcy to enable Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homeland in safety and honour.

Stressed was the need for an early start of the intra-Afghan dialogue for the establishment, through democratic procedures acceptable to the Afghan people including free and fair elections, of a broad-based government.

Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and his Personal Representative in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Benon Sevan, were asked to continue to facilitate such a settlement in accordance with the provisions of the resolution and the Geneva Accords of 14 April 1988, which, the Assembly specified, all parties should scrupulously respect and faithfully implement.

The Assembly reiterated that the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned and Islamic character of Afghanistan was essential for a peaceful solution of the problem. It reaffirmed the right of Afghans to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system, free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind.

The Assembly also appealed to the parties concerned to take all necessary measures to ease the lot of Afghan refugees and appealed for continued humanitarian relief assistance to alleviate their hardship. States were called upon to provide the Co-ordinator for Humanitarian and Economic Assistance Programmes Relating to Afghanistan with adequate resources for the speedy repatriation and rehabilitation of Afghan refugees, as well as for Afghanistan's economic and social reconstruction.

## Refugees helped

Measures had been taken during 1990 to begin providing direct assistance to a significant number of refugees already returning voluntarily to Afghanistan, the Secretary-General stated. Throughout the year, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had supported an estimated 15,000 Afghan returnees passing through reception and transit centres established by Afghanistan in Herat, Mazar-i-Sharif and Kabul. Also receiving aid were internally displaced persons who had begun to return to their villages of origin in increasing numbers.

UN humanitarian and economic assistance programmes had significantly expanded in spite of logistic and other difficulties. Reconstruction work could be undertaken and acute food shortages were being reduced as bumper crops were being harvested.

## Political solution

On 3 November, Personal Representative Sevan met with Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Earlier, he met with Afghanistan President Najibullah in Kabul. He also held "a series of intensive consultations with Afghan resistance leaders and commanders as well as other political leaders".

On 15 November, Mr. Sevan reiterated the Secretary-General's appeal to all Afghan leaders and to the Afghan people as a whole to put the interest of the nation above all others, in order to achieve a comprehensive political settlement. He stressed that no foreigner could or should impose an external solution on the Afghan people.

Mr. Sevan clarified that by "broad-based government", no particular view as to what form it should take was being espoused. The participation of all segments of the Afghan people was needed.

On 21 November, Afghanistan President Najibullah told the press in Geneva that a political solution was desired by his Government and that political pluralism and a free-market economy had been accepted.

He reported satisfactory meetings with prominent opposition figures regarding their possible participation in the settlement process.

## Sadruddin resigns

Sadruddin Aga Khan resigned as Co-ordinator for Humanitarian and Economic Assistance Programmes Relating to Afghanistan as of 31 December 1990. He oversaw "Operation Salam"—a major programme of emergency relief aid for Afghanistan by UN agencies and non-governmental organizations. More than $1 billion in cash and in kind has been pledged to it.

Benon Sevan was to assume responsibility on 1 January 1991 for the overall direction and administration of "Operation Salam".

## 'A forgotten people'

In a related matter, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, Felix Ermacora, in a report to the General Assembly, recommended that the UN study all the elements of general elections, in order to develop models for a system of such elections in today's Afghanistan as a means of reaching a political solution to the conflict. The political history of Afghanistan and the traditions and customs of its society should be taken into consideration.

The complex situation of human rights in Afghanistan was far from conforming with standards enshrined in the international instruments and should therefore be considered against the background of ongoing conflict. Regrettably, he concluded, the conflict and the people seemed to have become a "forgotten war" and a "forgotten people".

UN Photo 177137

President Najibullah of Afghanistan *(centre)* in Geneva.

# Negotiations on Cyprus problem supported

Security Council members on 9 November stressed the "urgent need" to arrive at a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem and called for renewed political will and commitment by all parties to facilitate a process of negotiations. The parties concerned were asked to extend to the Secretary-General their full co-operation and to refrain from taking any action or making any public statement that could further complicate his efforts.

Members' views were reflected in a statement issued by Council President Thomas R. Pickering of the United States, following Council consultations to consider a 7 November report *(S/21932)* by Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on his mission of good offices in Cyprus.

Council members reiterated their full support for the Secretary-General's current effort to arrive at an agreed outline and reaffirmed their endorsement of his plan of action to complete an outline of an overall agreement.

The Secretary-General was requested to report to the Council by 15 February 1991 on the outcome of his effort and to provide the Council with his assessment of the situation at that time.

In his 7 November report, the Secretary-General said the "negative atmosphere" to which he had referred in an earlier report had persisted in Cyprus. Each side had objected to actions and statements by the other, which had detracted from his effort. On 4 October, the Secretary-General had written to the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities—President George Vassiliou of Cyprus and Rauf Denktash—stressing again the necessity to proceed in such a way as to ensure that any future meeting would yield concrete results.

UN Photo

**Marrack Goulding, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs *(second right)*, inspects UNFICYP soldiers.**

Since mid-October, the Secretary-General's Special Representative on Cyprus, Oscar Camilión, and a Director in the Offices of the Secretary-General, Gustave Feissel, had met in Nicosia with each leader to explore, in line with the Secretary-General's plan of action, the possibility of bringing together the elements of an outline with which both sides could agree.

Subsequently, the UN officials had visited Athens and Ankara where they met with the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers and other officials.

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar reported that those discussions were not concluded, and all the headings had not been covered.

## UNFICYP mandate renewed

On 14 December, the Security Council extended the mandate of the UN Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for six months until 15 June 1991 *(resolution 680 (1990))*.

On 21 December, it unanimously adopted resolution 682 (1990) by which it decided to examine the problem of UNFICYP's costs and financing, and to report by 1 June 1991 on alternative arrangements for meeting those costs so that the Force could be placed on "a sound and secure financial basis".

It further decided to consider, not later than early June 1991, the results of that exercise, "with a view to putting into effect an alternative method of financing the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, which could, *inter alia*, include the use of assessed contributions, simultaneously with the extension of the mandate on or before 15 June 1991".

Unlike other UN peace-keeping operations which are financed through assessed contributions, UNFICYP relies on voluntary contributions.

On 7 December, the Secretary-General reported *(S/21981)* that UNFICYP was facing a "chronic and ever-deepening financial crisis, which imposes a most unfair burden on the troop-contributing countries". He felt that the best way to finance UNFICYP would be from assessed contributions.

A UN team, after visiting Cyprus in November to examine UNFICYP's organization and operations, had concluded in its report *(S/21982)* that continued reliance on voluntary contributions to finance the Force's costs would jeopardize its future.

# First Committee convenes in new political landscape

## Third Disarmament Decade launched

BETTMAN Photo

The international community "stands on common ground", determined to make progress in the 1990s by resolutely pursuing disarmament to attain genuine peace and security.

So stated the General Assembly on 4 December, as it declared the 1990s the Third Disarmament Decade. In approving resolution 45/62 A by consensus, it adopted the 7-paragraph Declaration of the 1990s as the Third Disarmament Decade. Among other things, the document recognizes the advances made in arms limitation and disarmament talks between the USSR and the United States.

First Committee (Political and Security) Chairman Jai Pratap Rana of Nepal on 30 November noted that almost half of the body's 54 resolutions had been adopted without a vote. He said the "broader areas of agreement" were also reflected in the reduced number of proposals submitted for consideration.

Yasushi Akashi, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, said it was the Committee's "first truly post-cold-war session". Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar had referred to the "new security situation being shaped at the global level by the rapid improvements in the relationship between East and West" in his 1990 annual report.

The Committee asked for some new studies, including those on potential uses of resources currently allocated to military activities for civilian endeavours to protect the environment and on defensive security concepts and policies.

A proposal to create a UN-sponsored station in Antarctica to promote international co-operation in scientific research was entertained. The station would help assess the importance of Antarctica to the global environment and ecosystems, providing an early-warning system on climate change and accidents. A report on Antarctica's environmental status and its impact on the global system were requested.

The Assembly also welcomed the increasing support for establishing Antarctica as a nature reserve or world park and for banning prospecting and mining in and around Antarctica. It expressed the conviction that "any move to draw up a comprehensive environmental convention on the conservation and protection of Antarctica and its dependent and associated ecosystems, as well as establishing a nature reserve or world park, must be negotiated with the full participation of the world community".

The First Committee reviewed in 1990 two new major disarmament studies—on nuclear weapons and on verification *(see box next page)*.

### Nuclear and chemical weapons

The Assembly on 4 December reaffirmed the need for a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty and urged all nuclear-weapon States to discontinue all nuclear-weapon test explosions. It asked the Parties to

# Two new studies

## Nuclear weapons update

In the foreword to a 152-page report on nuclear weapons, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar notes that, for the first time in the nuclear age, nuclear-weapon stockpiles are being reduced.

In 1988, the General Assembly requested a team of qualified experts to assist the Secretary-General in updating the 1980 United Nations report on nuclear weapons. The updated *Comprehensive Study on Nuclear Weapons (A/45/373),* issued on 18 September 1990, examines technical data and statistics on existing nuclear weapons, trends in the technological development of nuclear-weapon systems, doctrines and strategies, and development, production and testing. It also covers the effects of nuclear-weapon use and consequences of nuclear war, implications for international security, and nuclear arms limitation and disarmament.

The report concludes that the threat of nuclear confrontation has diminished with the "momentous changes in the world", particularly the *rapprochement* between East and West, which has given "strong impetus to arms limitation and disarmament efforts", especially in Europe. The most tangible results, the study states, have been achieved in the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Experts from France, the Soviet Union and the United States—three of the five nuclear-weapon States—participated in the work of the expert group, along with nine representatives of non-nuclear-weapon States—Argentina, Bulgaria, Egypt, Indonesia, New Zealand, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Sweden and Venezuela.

The report features summaries of the nuclear-weapon doctrines of each of the nuclear-weapon States, which also include China and the United Kingdom.

## Multilateral verification

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, in another UN study *(A/45/372)* considered in 1990 by the First Committee (Political and Security), states: "There can be no doubt that for participating States in a multilateral arms limitation and disarmament agreement, multilateral verification arrangements will be essential to create and develop mutual confidence in compliance."

A 21-member team of qualified governmental experts, appointed by the Secretary-General and chaired by Fred Bild of Canada's Department of External Affairs, helped gauge the need for improvements in existing UN activities in the field of verification of arms limitation and disarmament, and in identifying possible additional activities.

Recommendations in the 106-page report include: the development of a consolidated UN data bank on all aspects of verification and compliance; promotion of workshops, seminars and training programmes; and consideration of a process in which States parties to future multilateral arms limitation and disarmament agreements could deposit those instruments with the Secretary-General and report to the UN on implementation.

The use of aircraft for verification purposes, the use of satellites and the possibility of an international verification system consisting of an "umbrella" body were also discussed. In the Group's view, a UN verification organization would have to be seen as an "evolutionary process".

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the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water to participate in and contribute to the success of the Amendment Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty in New York from 7 to 18 January 1991.

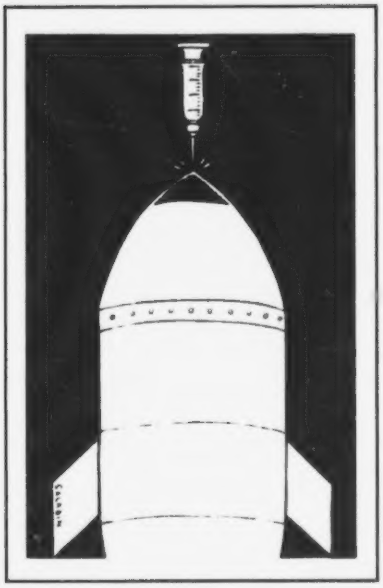
The Conference on Disarmament was urged to establish an international seismic monitoring network and to take other measures aimed at developing a system to monitor and verify compliance with a comprehensive test-ban treaty. An early agreement on effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons was also asked.

The Conference was to continue consideration of verified cessation and prohibition of the production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices and launch negotiations towards an international convention prohibiting the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances.

The USSR and the United States were called upon to conclude the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms as "part of the process leading to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons".

By other resolutions, the Assembly encouraged States to assist any State whose safeguarded nuclear facilities were subjected to armed attack and called for the prevention of dumping of nuclear wastes. It also urged a joint declaration by all nuclear-weapon States, proclaiming a comprehensive nuclear-arms freeze.

On 23 October, the Assembly asked that all States co-operate with the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in promoting the use of nuclear energy and the safety of nuclear installations and in ensuring the effectiveness of the IAEA safe-



guards system. In a separate action, Israel was again requested to place all its nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards.

The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle East and South Asia were encouraged. France was urged to ratify the Additional Protocol I of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (Treaty of Tlatelolco).

States were asked to consider Africa as a nuclear-weapon-free zone. All forms of nuclear collaboration by any entity with South Africa was condemned.

The Conference on Disarmament was asked to conclude its negotiations on a convention on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and on their destruction. All States were also called upon to observe strictly the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use in war of chemical and biological weapons.

The Assembly noted that a third review conference of the parties to the 1971 Convention on biological weapons was to be held in Geneva in 1991.

Negotiations on banning the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons were to continue, as was the review of the development and manufacture of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction.

## Regional disarmament

The signing of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) on 19 November 1990 in Paris was welcomed. Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar described the instrument as "a workable model of inter-State security and co-operation".

All States were urged to become parties to the 1980 Convention prohibiting or restricting the use of excessively injurious conventional weapons.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean was asked to complete preparations for a Conference on the Indian Ocean, scheduled to be held at Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1992, to spur implementation of the 1970 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

The Assembly urged all States to assist in strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

All States, it said, should recognize the value of confidence-building measures—military or non-military—taken in the framework of initiatives on regional disarmament and conclude agreements, wherever possible, for nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament and confidence-building measures at regional and subregional levels.

## Related action

The need for verification to prevent an arms race in outer space was stressed. A study was asked for on the application of different confidence-building measures in outer space, for presentation in 1993.

In science and technology, the Secretary-General was asked to assess emerging new technologies and report in 1993 on a framework for technology assessment.

The Assembly noted the tenth anniversary of the UN Institute for Disarmament Research. On 25 October, 20 Governments pledged some $1.2 million, some of it in non-convertible currencies, for the World Disarmament Campaign and other UN disarmament programmes.

Resolutions were also adopted on the relationship between disarmament and development, UN regional centres and the UN disarmament fellowship, training and advisory services programme.

## Chernobyl task force considered

Consideration of a proposal to create a task force to stimulate and monitor UN technical and other assistance to the region affected by the 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in the Ukraine has been asked by the Assembly in resolution 45/190.

The "serious national and international consequences of unprecedented scale" of the accident, including the state of health of the children who suffer from exposure to radiation, led the Assembly to suggest measures for enhanced aid.

In a related action in resolution 45/71, the Assembly commended the UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation for its valuable contribution for over 35 years to "wider knowledge and understanding of the levels, effects and risks of atomic radiation".

The world body asked the Committee to continue its work to increase knowledge of the levels, effects and risks of ionizing radiation from all sources.

# Trusteeship Agreement for three entities of Trust Territory of Pacific Islands terminated

The Security Council on 22 December voted to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement for three of the four entities comprising the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the United States since 1947.

By a vote of 14 to 1 (Cuba), the Council, in resolution 683 (1990), concluded the Agreement with respect to the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands, which had drawn up Compacts of Free Association with the United States, and the Northern Mariana Islands, which had agreed to a Commonwealth Covenant with the United States. The fourth entity—Palau—has not finally determined the nature of its future status and, therefore, remains under the Trusteeship Agreement.

The resolution was sponsored by China, France, USSR, United Kingdom and United States, who are also members of the Trusteeship Council.

Prior to the vote on the text, the Council voted by 2 in favour (Colombia, Cuba) to 9 against (Canada, China, Finland, France, Malaysia, Romania, USSR, United Kingdom, United States), with 4 abstentions (Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Yemen, Zaire), on a proposal by Cuba to postpone consideration of the item.

Before the Council was a letter *(S/22034)* from the Permanent Representative of Cuba, annexed to which were letters from the Governor of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the President of the Senate of Palau, dated 20 and 21 December, respectively.

The Governor, Lorenzo I. de Leon Guerrero, reported that the Commonwealth did not support the resolution. The time was not ripe "for Security Council termination of the Trust for our people. We still desire to have the protection afforded us by the United Nations".

The President of the Senate of Palau, Joshua Koshiba, supported those views.

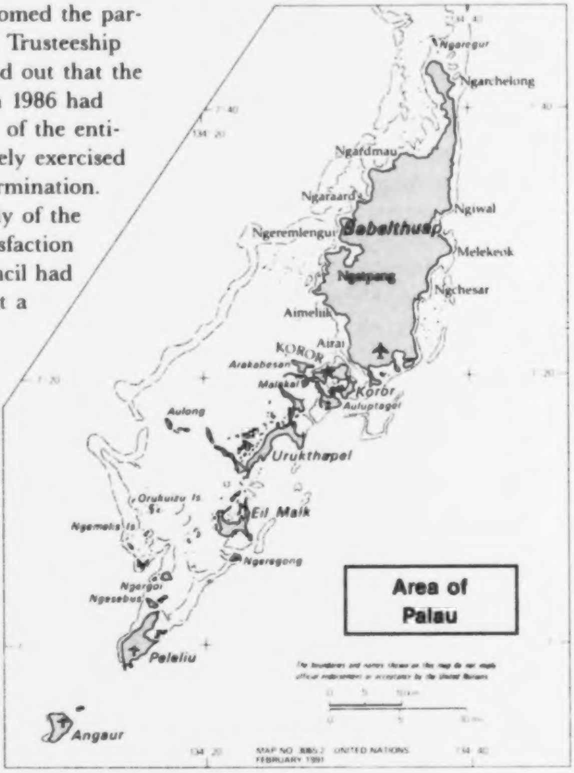
In debate, Thomas R. Pickering of the United States also noted that the Trusteeship Council had concluded that the peoples concerned had achieved self-determination. The Security Council's action endorsed the Trusteeship Council's action.

Thomas L. Richardson of the United Kingdom welcomed the partial termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. He pointed out that the Trusteeship Council in 1986 had noted that the peoples of the entities concerned had freely exercised their right to self-determination.

Valintin V. Lozinskiy of the USSR noted with satisfaction that the Security Council had been able to arrive "at a mutually acceptable solution based on the right of peoples to freeedom of choice" and conforming to the procedures set out in the UN Charter. The Council's decision would "assist the growing tendency to diminish the military presence in the Pacific and Asian regions". He further noted that in the course of Council consultations, assurances had been given that the United States did not intend to establish additional military bases in Micronesia.

Jean-Marc Rochereau de La Sabliere of France said the ending of trusteeship status would make it possible for the Territories concerned to implement fully the status that their respective peoples had chosen freely.

Yu Mengjia of China said his country supported the termination of the three entities' status as Trust Territories. After the termination of trusteeship, the political and economic development in those entities would enter a new stage.



Area of Palau

Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada of Cuba, the lone dissenter on the vote, said the Council had dismissed a formal request from the Northern Marianas. Not to have waited a few more weeks before taking a decision, after having waited for more than 40 years, was difficult to understand and inadmissible. There was continued disagreement over fundamental issues of sovereignty between the United States and the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas. The Council had decided to abandon its compliance with very clear-cut obligations.

Terence O'Brien of New Zealand said that, on the basis of the express—and expressed—wish of the people of the three island groups concerned, New Zealand endorsed the call for the partial termination of the Trusteeship Agreement.

Vanuatu, in an 18 December letter *(S/22009)* to the Council President on behalf of States Members of the United Nations that were also members of the South Pacific Forum (Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu), indicated that in their view, the people of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands had, through various acts of self-determination and under the guidance of the United Nations, "freely chosen forms of government most suited to their particular circumstances". Therefore, the Trusteeship Agreement in respect of the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands and the Northern Mariana Islands, should be terminated.

Papua New Guinea, in a 17 December letter *(S/22007)* to the Council President, also made the same points.

## Background

The International Trusteeship System was established to promote the advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their development towards self-government and independence. Those Territories designated as "strategic areas", such as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia), were supervised by the Security Council, with the assistance of the Trusteeship Council.

Micronesia has been the only Trust Territory remaining of the original 11 Trust Territories. The others attained self-government or independence either as new sovereign States or by joining neighbouring independent countries.

# Intensification of efforts for referendum in Western Sahara urged

The General Assembly on 20 November urged the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar to intensify their efforts for holding a referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, organized and supervised by the UN, in co-operation with OAU.

The Assembly, in resolution 45/21, reaffirmed that the direct dialogue between the two parties to the conflict—Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro (POLISARIO Front)—could contribute to the completion of the joint good offices process of the current OAU Chairman, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, and the Secretary-General to the restoration of peace in Western Sahara and to stability and security in the whole region.

It appealed to Morocco and the POLISARIO Front to display the co-operation and political goodwill necessary for the completion of the peace process, with a view to a speedy settlement of the Western Sahara question.

On 18 October the Secretary-General reported *(A/45/644)* that he continued to be encouraged by the progress being made with respect to the peace process. An agreed set of proposals and a timetable for their implementation had been agreed upon. So also had a plan which provided for the holding of a referendum for the self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, "without military or administrative constraints".

The Security Council is expected to establish a UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara, to be known by its French acronym MINURSO.

The Secretary-General stated that the series of good offices missions undertaken by him had the full co-operation and goodwill of the two parties "in their shared interest to move towards the implementation of the referendum". Given the co-operation and political will displayed by the parties, he added, a solution of that long-standing problem was well within reach.

The question of Western Sahara, according to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, had entered a decisive stage. He affirmed that every effort should be made to contribute to the definitive solution of the issue and to the consolidation of peace and stability in the region.

# Thirtieth anniversary of Decolonization Declaration observed

CUMISSÃO POPULAR
BAIRRO TERRA NOVA

UN Photo 131274

In a special ceremony on 10 October 1990, the General Assembly commemorated the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted on 14 December 1960.

Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar told the Assembly—which in 1988 had declared the 1990s as the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism—that since the Declaration's adoption, 59 Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, embracing a total population of 140 million people in all regions of the world, had been enabled to exercise their right to self-determination.

The UN continued to uphold its commitment to the political, economic and social advancement of the remaining 18 Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, most in the Pacific and Caribbean regions, he stated.

Assembly President Guido de Marco of Malta said the international community should renew its "efforts and commitments in resolving in harmony and co-operation the colonial vestiges" of the remaining Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, "not discarding our responsibility, however, towards those peoples who rightfully feel cheated when the full sovereignty of the State is not matched by the full respect of the obligations" imposed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Tesfaye Tadesse of Ethiopia, Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization, said it was his earnest hope that when the Assembly would meet during the course of the twentieth century's final decade, the Special Committee would be able to report that no more Non-Self-Governing Territories remained on its list and that all such Territories had exercised their right to self-determination.

The General Assembly on 20 November acted on 17 resolutions and four decisions, on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee (Decolonization), dealing with, among other things, the implementation of the 1960 Declaration on decolonization by the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the UN, activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding the Declaration's implementation and military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers.

With regard to the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism (1990-1999), the Assembly called on States which had not yet done so to submit suggestions enabling the Assembly to adopt a plan of action aimed at ushering in, in the twenty-first century, a world free from colonialism.

In stressing the administering Powers' responsibility to continue to promote economic and social development of the Territories and to reduce economic dependence on the administering Powers, the Assembly reaffirmed that it was ultimately for the peoples of the Territories to determine freely their future political status.

The Assembly invited the specialized agencies and other organizations of the UN system to continue to take all necessary measures to accelerate progress in the social and economic life of the Territories concerned. The Assembly also urged the administering Powers, in co-operation with the territorial governments, to safeguard and guarantee their inalienable right to own and dispose of their natural resources, including marine resources.

# Assembly wants continued international efforts to eradicate *apartheid*

On 19 December, the General Assembly called on all Governments and intergovernmental organizations to adhere strictly to the Programme of Action contained in the Declaration on *Apartheid* and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted at its sixteenth special session in 1989. At its 45th session, the world body approved eight major resolutions on international efforts to eradicate *apartheid*, two of them by consensus.

In an extensive debate which took place between 4 and 19 December, participants noted, as hopeful signs of change, South Africa's stated commitment to reforms, the release of African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela and the initiation of talks with ANC. Still, they said, a host of discriminatory laws remained in force and the situation of political prisoners and exiles had not been addressed.

Many expressed concern over continued reports of violence on the part of police and security forces and competing political organizations.

It was agreed that as the minimum pre-condition for negotiations established by the Assembly in its Declaration on *Apartheid* had not been fully met, the international community should maintain existing sanctions, boycotts and other measures aimed at promoting change.

The Assembly in a consensus resolution drew attention to the efforts of the South African people to reach a peaceful settlement of the problems in their country.

Noting that the process of change in South Africa was at an early stage, it stated that further substantive progress must be made to promote the necessary "profound and irreversible change" it had called for in the 1989 Declaration on *Apartheid*.

It also asked Governments and financial institutions to use concerted and effective measures, particularly in the area of economic and financial relations and called on the Security Council to monitor effectively the strict implementation of the arms embargo.

The Assembly urged all States to adopt strict legislation in support of the arms embargo against South Africa and to prohibit the supply of all products that could be used for South Africa's military and nuclear industries.

In a separate text adopted by a recorded vote of 99 in favour to 28 against, with 19 abstentions, the Assembly urged the Council to take steps against Israel for violating the arms embargo against South Africa.

Under another text, the Security Council was urged to ensure an effective embargo on the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products. States were asked to broaden the current scope of the embargo and eliminate loopholes.

On 5 December, South Africa's Minister for Foreign Affairs expressed concern over the tenor of the general debate that reflected "the outdated prejudices of past decades". The Assembly "has no jurisdiction in terms of the Charter of the United Nations to discuss this subject", he said, adding that the debate was "inappropriate, uncalled for and counterproductive".

# ANTI-APARTHEID NOTES

## Day of Solidarity

The International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners was observed at Headquarters on 11 October. In a statement read on his behalf, Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar said the observance was taking place "at a historic juncture" in South Africa. "Political developments over the past year hold promise that more tangible progress will be made in dismantling . . . *apartheid*, thus removing a major cause for the unjust imprisonment of those who seek an equitable system of government under which the rights of all will be assured", he stated. He strongly hoped that the time would soon come when South Africa would be transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial society.

## Special Committee consultations

The Special Committee against *Apartheid* on 18 and 19 October held consultations with non-governmental organizations and anti-*apartheid* movements in Geneva to exchange views on the current political situation in southern Africa. The meeting concluded with the adoption of a plan of action calling for exchange of information and information activities; promotion of a climate of free political activity in South Africa; maintenance of sanctions and other measures to ensure the continued isolation of the *apartheid* régime; and establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

UN Photo 120995

Working towards a reformed society.

## PAC President dies

The Special Committee against *Apartheid* on 24 October noted the death a day earlier of Zephania Mothopeng, President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. The Committee's Acting Chairman, Marjorie R. Thorpe of Trinidad and Tobago, stated that it was a great loss to the anti-*apartheid* movement and to South Africa as a whole, especially at a time when the process for change had acquired a new momentum. She stated that Mr. Mothopeng would be long remembered as "a stalwart in the struggle of the oppressed people for the total elimination of *apartheid*".

## Travelling exhibit

An anti-*apartheid* travelling exhibit, prepared by the Centre against *Apartheid* and the Department of Public Information, served as the focal point of a three-day programme—"Days against *Apartheid*"—in Madrid, Spain, from 16 to 18 October. The programme included three panel discussions on *apartheid*. The exhibit is expected to travel to other cities throughout Spain before being shown in several Latin American nations.

## Group calls for maintenance of sanctions against Pretoria

Sanctions against South Africa, particularly the oil embargo, must be maintained until the country's *apartheid* policies are totally eradicated, Anthony B. Nyakyi of the United Republic of Tanzania, Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, reported on 13 November.

In its report *(A/45/43)* to the General Assembly, the Group stated that the positive developments in South Africa over the past year could not have been achieved without the pressure applied by the international community on Pretoria, including the oil embargo. The report contained a draft model law which was commended to Governments wishing to adopt coherent statutes to enforce the oil embargo against South Africa.

The report maintained that the most effective way of enforcing the oil embargo remained the Security Council's option of invoking Chapter VII of the UN Charter. "Such a measure would assist oil-exporting, oil-shipping and oil-handling States that have enacted an oil embargo or comparable policies against South Africa to ensure effective implementation of those policies."

# Human Rights Conference set for 1993

**The General Assembly has decided to convene a high-level World Conference on Human Rights in 1993. Its agenda, date, duration, venue and participation are to be decided at a five-day preparatory committee session in Geneva in September 1991. Also under consideration will be activities to be conducted at the international, regional and national levels.**

A new human rights convention aimed at protecting the rights of migrant workers and their families was opened for signature, ratification or accession by the Assembly *(see story on page 80)*. The Assembly also adopted its guidelines for the regulation of computerized personal data files.

These were among the 46 resolutions and 3 decisions on human rights issues acted on by the Assembly in December—a record number—based on recommendations of its Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural).

The Human Rights Commission was urged by the Assembly to complete as soon as possible a draft declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities.

The exercise of human rights in occupied Kuwait Afghanistan, El Salvador, Iran and South Africa were examined. The status of international instruments to ensure such rights were reviewed.

The Assembly also decided to hold a commemorative meeting in honour of the two International Covenants on Human Rights—the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights— on 16 December 1991, the twenty-fifth anniversary of their adoption.

Questions relating to racial discrimination, *apartheid*, self-determination, torture, mass exoduses, involuntary disappearances, arbitrary executions and genocide were also considered.

Human Rights
UNITED NATIONS

UN Photo 22541

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a keystone document for UN work in this field.

Other subjects dealt with by the world body included the need to ensure a healthy environment for the well-being of individuals, human rights and scientific and technological developments, and the UN's role in enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections.

## Self-determination endorsed

Under a 37-operative paragraph text on self-determination and human rights, the Assembly strongly condemned those Governments that did not recognize the right to self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial domination, alien subjugation and foreign occupation, notably the peoples of Africa and the Palestinians.

The Assembly also condemned the recruitment, financing, training, assembly, transit and use of mercenaries, as well as other forms of support to mercenaries for destabilizing and overthrowing Governments of developing countries and for fighting against the national liberation movements of peoples struggling to exercise their right to self-determination.

Calling for respect for the principles of national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of States in their electoral processes, the Assembly strongly appealed to States to abstain from financing or providing, directly or indirectly, any form of covert or overt support for political parties or groups and from taking actions to undermine the electoral processes in any country.

The Assembly affirmed the value of electoral assistance that the UN had provided at the request of Member States, in the context of full respect for their sovereignty. Ways in which the UN could respond to Member States' requests as they sought to promote and strengthen their electoral institutions and procedures should be considered.

The Assembly reaffirmed that the right to development was an inalienable human right. Equal attention should be given to implementing, promoting and protecting civil and political rights, as well as economic, social and cultural rights.

## Better environment

The Assembly asserted that it was necessary to provide for the right of workers to participate in management.

Recognizing that all individuals were entitled to live in an environment adequate for their health and well-being, the Assembly called upon Member States and organizations dealing with environmental questions to enhance their efforts towards ensuring a better and healthier environment.

In adopting guidelines for the regulation of computerized personal data files, the Assembly asked Governments to take into account those guidelines in their legislation and administrative regulations.

The Assembly stressed the important contribution of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, working impartially and with strictly humanitarian motives, to provide humanitarian assistance to victims of natural disasters and similar emergency situations.

## Long road ahead to universal human rights

We cannot . . . forget that a long distance is yet to be travelled in making a human rights régime truly universal. There is still a formidable gap between aspirations and realities. Poverty, which ranks with violent conflict as the chief destroyer of human rights, still stalks large parts of the world. Despite all the legal instrumentation, hardly a day passes without reports of firing on unarmed demonstrators, killings, disappearance of individuals, imprisonment without trial, the destruction of homes of innocent people. With all the moral outrage aroused by such violations of human rights, those who commit them do so with impunity.

*Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar on Human Rights Day, New York, 10 December*

## Country situations, including Kuwait

The Assembly condemned Iraqi authorities and occupation forces for their serious violations of human rights against the Kuwaiti people and third-State nationals and, in particular, the "continued and increasing acts of torture, arrests, summary executions, disappearances and abduction".

Serious concern was expressed about the "systematic dismantling and pillaging of and attacks on the economic infrastructure of Kuwait, which seriously undermine the present and future enjoyment by the Kuwaiti people of their economic, social and cultural rights".

The Assembly said it expected Iraq to guarantee respect for international standards applicable under international law, particularly with reference to the protection of the civilian population, and demanded that Iraq co-operate fully with and give access to Kuwait to humanitarian organizations, especially the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Iraq, in debate, questioned the Assembly's competence to take action on a matter that was before the Security Council. But the acting Assembly President decided the body was competent to take a decision on the draft.

As for other country reports, the Assembly urged a comprehensive political solution in Afghanistan. Iran was called upon to intensify efforts to investigate and rectify human rights issues raised by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights. The Assembly urged the El Salvador Government and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional to "carry out all the political agreements announced at Geneva and Caracas".

# A universal culture of human rights

The human rights situation in today's world is one of "stark contrast", Jan Martenson told the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) on 8 October. As Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva and head of the UN Centre for Human Rights since 1987, he has observed over the past few years what he calls "amazing changes" in many parts of the world. These include movements in Eastern and Central Europe, Latin America and Asia, which have "enabled the people to regain control of their own destinies".

Those progressive changes, however, are tempered by continuing reports of torture, killings, arbitrary or summary executions, disappearance of persons, violent suppression of dissent, firing on unarmed demonstrators, discrimination and deprivation. For millions, Mr. Martenson explained, the "basic necessities of life", as described in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are out of reach and many freedoms are denied.

"Forty-five years ago the international community embarked on the new adventure of promoting human dignity for every person on earth through concerted international action", Mr. Martenson told the Committee. "It may well be that this is one of the areas in which our Organization has made the most far-reaching progress."

The UN aims to create "a true universal culture of human rights", he explained, through public awareness and information that "must touch every corner of the globe".

## Human rights trends

One trend, Mr. Martenson noted, is the implementation of human rights instruments covering the rights of a particular group. The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child and the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families *(see page 80)* are recent examples.

A draft declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities has been under consideration by a working group of the Commission on Human Rights for ten years.

The Centre is also working to counter discrimination against HIV-infected people or people with AIDS through its Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Its technical assistance programmes aim to strengthen national laws and institutions. The Centre, Mr. Martenson said, would like to explore ways of assisting people from regions where the development of non-governmental organizations—which are often instrumental in encouraging popular participation—has lagged behind.

Among other things, the Centre, whose workload has grown dramatically in recent years, services UN organs concerned with human rights. It also carries out research and studies and prepares reports on the implementation of human rights.

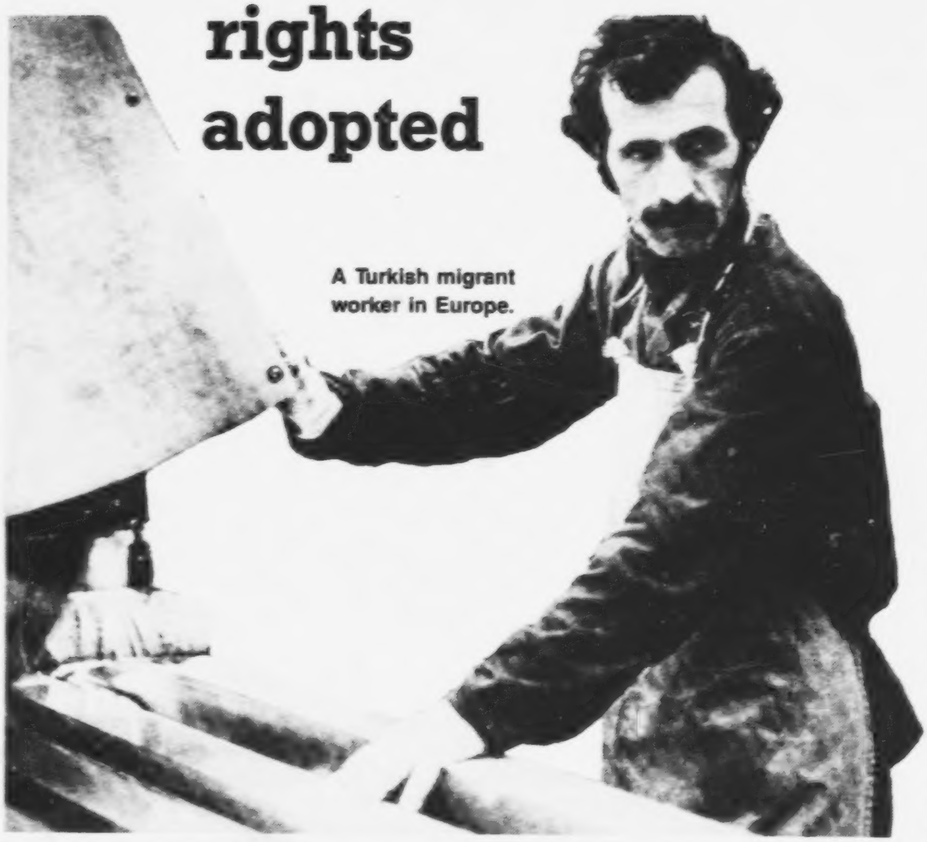
UN Photo 177152

Mr. Martenson

During the past year, the Centre responded to some 300,000 petitions from individuals who complained of human rights abuses. Petitions covered violations of rights, whether or not protected by a UN treaty. Complaints not covered by UN treaties are forwarded to the Government concerned, which may reply. At the same time, a summary is sent confidentially to the members of the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-Commission. A working group then considers the complaints and any Government replies, and decides whether to carry out a thorough study of the situation or to appoint a special committee or rapporteur to investigate.

In conclusion, Mr. Martenson said all must "take strength from the favourable winds of change and set a still firmer foundation for the enjoyment—as a basic priority—of their human rights by all our fellow men, women and children".

# Convention on migrant worker rights adopted



A Turkish migrant worker in Europe.

UNFPA Photo/Henning Christoph

**A new multilateral human rights instrument—the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families—was unanimously approved by the General Assembly on 18 December, following 10 years of negotiations.**

The Assembly adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession the 93-article Convention, annexed to resolution 45/158, on the recommendation of its Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) after 10 years of drafting efforts by a special working group.

Widespread discrimination against, and lack of legal protection for, increasing numbers of migrant workers led the Assembly, in December 1979, to establish the following year a working group to draft the Convention. Deposited with the Secretary-General, the accord will enter into force three months after ratification or accession by 20 countries. Those States may not exclude any part of the Convention or any category of migrant workers.

Principles and standards for treatment of migrant workers and their families had already been set forth in a number of international human rights instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in others formulated by the International Labour Organisation. The Assembly, however, recognized "the need to make further efforts to improve the situation", given the millions of people involved and the large number of States affected.

## In a vulnerable state

The Convention's aim is to establish norms "which may contribute to harmonize the attitudes of States through the acceptance of basic principles" regarding migrant workers and members of their families. It recognizes their frequent vulnerability and the difficulties they may encounter in their State of employment.

It stresses the "serious problems" caused by migration—the scattering of the family, clandestine movements and trafficking in migrant workers (known as "irregular migration")—and the employment of non-documented workers under less than favourable conditions of work.

The instrument's nine parts cover its scope and definitions, non-discrimination, human rights of all migrant workers irrespective of their status, other rights of those who are documented or in a "regular situation", provisions applicable to particular categories of migrant workers and members of their families, promotion of sound, equitable, humane and lawful conditions in connection with international migration and application of the Convention.

Some receiving countries expressed reservations after the Assembly's adoption of the Convention. Oman said that, although it was an important document, several provisions could either interfere with local administration of justice or infringe on the rights of nationals because of competition from migrant workers.

Japan said it could cause problems for immigration policies and labour supply in certain countries. Australia said the term "migrant worker" was not applicable to Australian migration policies and practices, which were predicated on the grant of permanent residence.

## A complex phenomenon

Among those supporting the Convention was Finland, calling migration a "complex phenomenon" which in many ways, it said, was a reflection of the "imbalances and imperfections of the world". Both sending and receiving countries should protect the rights of migrant workers.

Morocco said the threat of expulsion had always hung over migrant workers and jeopardized the full exercise of their rights and privileges. The Convention was "a major achievement" in favour of migrant workers who needed all the protection the international community could provide.

Claude Heller, Chairman of the Convention's Working Group and Ambassador of Mexico to Switzerland, said at a 10 December briefing that the instrument covered a wider scope of the migrant workers' rights than had previously existed. The situation in the Persian Gulf area, he added, underlined the "tragic conditions" of migrant workers due to international conflict.

## Rights of migrant workers

A "migrant worker" is defined as "a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national". The Convention also defines various other terms such as "frontier worker", "seasonal worker", "seafarer" and "itinerant worker", among others, as migrant workers under special conditions.

The text provides for migrant workers and members of their families the right to leave any State, including their State of origin, without restrictions, and the right to enter and remain in their State of origin. Other rights are: protection of the right to life under the law; prevention from subjection to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; and forbidding of slavery, servitude, forced or compulsory labour.

Migrants are entitled to freedom of expression and religion; protection from arbitrary searches, attacks or confiscation of property; liberty and security of person; information regarding legal rights while under arrest or committed to prison or custody pending trial; and compensation if unlawfully arrested or detained. It is deemed unlawful to destroy the identity documents, work permits or passports of migrants.

Each case of expulsion must be examined and decided individually and collective expulsion of workers is declared illegal. The decision to expel must be communicated in a language the migrant worker understands and unless the final decision is pronounced by a judge, the migrant is allowed a review by the "competent authority".

The right to consular or diplomatic protection or assistance is also provided. Every migrant worker and every member of his or her family is recognized as a "person before the law".

In terms of remuneration, migrant workers are entitled to the same treatment as that of nationals of the country of employment. They may join or take part in meetings of trade unions and should receive the same social security benefits and medical care as nationals. Children of migrant workers have the right to a name, registration of birth and nationality, as well as the "basic right of access to education".

When migrant workers end their employment, the Accord states, they are entitled to transfer their earnings and savings and, subject to local laws, their personal belongings.

## Convention follow-up

A 10-member Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families will monitor the application of the Convention. After its entry into force for the forty-first State Party, the Committee will add four more experts, elected by secret ballot by the States Parties from a list of nominees. They will serve for four years in their personal capacity.

States Parties to the Convention must report to that Committee on legislative, judicial, administrative and other measures taken according to the Convention's provisions within a year after its entry into force in that country and every five years thereafter.

# Year for Indigenous People proclaimed, other social issues acted on

**The General Assembly proclaimed 1993 as International Year for the World's Indigenous People and endorsed plans to hold a fourth international conference on women in 1995, possibly in Vienna, Austria.**

These were two major actions in the wide spectrum of social issues the General Assembly considered—from empowering the elderly and the handicapped everywhere to improving the lives of refugees, fighting drugs and crime, and helping AIDS victims.

Most were adopted without a vote after recommendations by its Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) and, in some instances, its Second Committee (Economic and Financial). Many had been approved previously by the Economic and Social Council.

Strengthening international co-operation "for the solution of problems faced by indigenous communities in such areas as human rights, the environment, development, education, health and so on" will be the goal of the International Year, the Assembly stated. Resolution 45/164 was adopted by 150 votes to none, with 4 abstentions (Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana).

In a resolution adopted by consensus, the Assembly asked the Vienna-based Commission on the Status of Women to prepare for the 1995 international conference on women. Previous conferences were held in Mexico City in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980 and Nairobi in 1985.

## UN anti-drug action energized

As of 1 January 1991, all UN drug control activities will be integrated in a single programme, headed by an Under-Secretary-General, "with the exclusive responsibility for co-ordinating and providing effective leadership", the Assembly decided.

The new Vienna-based United Nations International Drug Control Programme will absorb the existing Division of Narcotic Drugs, the secretariat of the International Narcotics Control Board and the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control.

States were urged to make their internal juridical regulations compatible with the 1988 UN Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances. The fight against drug abuse and illicit trafficking should continue to be based on strict respect for the UN Charter and international law. A system should be established to identify the methods and routes used for transit traffic of illicit narcotic drugs to enhance interdiction efforts.

UN Photo 139479

## Other issues

**Crime:** The Assembly adopted a package of 17 resolutions on crime prevention and criminal justice *(45/107-45/123)*, including a number of model treaties and legal texts previously approved by the Eighth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held in Havana, Cuba, in August and September 1990 *(see UN Chronicle No. 4, 1990)*.

Other texts dealt with domestic violence, criminal justice education, organized crime, use of children in criminal activities, computerization of criminal justice, and crime prevention and criminal justice in the context of development and related issues.

**Aging:** An action programme on aging for 1992 and beyond *(A/45/420)* was endorsed by the Assembly. The proposed establishment in 1991 of the Banyan Foundation was welcomed, the goal of which would be "to empower the elderly in all world regions to maintain maximum independence and the ability to contribute to society".

**Disabled:** The UN will shift the focus of its programme on disability "from awareness-raising to action", the Assembly decided. The aim was to achieve "a society for all by the year 2010 and of responding more appropriately to the many requests for assistance and advisory services".

**Children and youth:** The entry into force of the Convention on the Rights of the Child on 2 September 1990 was welcomed "as a major step in international efforts to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms". States were asked to enable young people "to obtain a modern education on such subjects as environmental issues". In its work, the UN system will take into account the Declaration and Plan of Action adopted by the World Summit for Children on 30 September 1990.

**Social justice, welfare:** The UN will set up a voluntary fund for the preparation for and observance of the International Year of the Family, 1994. "Social justice is one of the most important goals of social progress", the Assembly reiterated.

Other resolutions focused on the negative consequences of alcohol use in the context of development of social welfare policies and UN monitoring of the world social situation.

**Disaster relief:** The "cardinal importance" of humanitarian assistance for the victims of natural disasters and similar emergency situations was reaffirmed.

**Health:** Noting the end of the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade (1981-1990), the Assembly urged Governments to give greater priority to financing water supply and sanitation and allocate a "greater proportion of resources to low-income urban and rural areas". The needs of women, young people and children were strongly underlined in a resolution on the prevention and control of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS).

**Population:** The international community was urged to mobilize an estimated $9 billion per year by the year 2000 needed for population activities. Population Fund resources should concentrate on countries most in need of assistance in the population field in view of their population problems.

**Culture, education:** UN regional commissions should evaluate cultural factors influencing development of the cultural sector as a potential job and income generator, the Assembly said in a resolution on the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997). The Assembly will decide on the future of the UN Institute for Training and Research later in 1991. It welcomed the implementation of programmes of research, advanced training and dissemination of knowledge by the United Nations University, with headquarters in Tokyo.

LEONARD CHESHIRE FOUNDATION Photo

# Assembly launches climate convention negotiations

Negotiations on an effective "framework convention on climate change" were to begin in February 1991 in Washington, D.C., when an intergovernmental committee set up by the General Assembly was to meet for the first time.

By resolution 45/212 adopted by consensus on 21 December, the Assembly launched what it described as a "single intergovernmental negotiating process" for the convention and related instruments. The Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee will be open to all UN Members States or members of the specialized agencies.

A special voluntary fund was also established to ensure that developing countries, particularly the least developed, participate in the negotiating process, which will be supported by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

The climate convention and related instruments should be open for signature at the UN Conference on Environment and Development, set to meet in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from 5 to 12 June 1992. Representation at the highest level—Head of State or Government—at that global meeting was also urged by the Assembly in adopting resolution 45/211 by consensus.

## Global climate

Leaders from 137 countries including the European Community, and 747 scientific and socio-economic experts met in Geneva from 29 October to 7 November 1990 for the Second World Climate Conference.

A Ministerial Declaration issued at the end of the Conference urged "all developed countries to establish targets and/or feasible national programmes or strategies" to limit emissions of "greenhouse gases" such as carbon dioxide. Target levels were not specified. Greenhouse gases are widely expected to provoke a dangerous heating of the global atmosphere.

The Conference is considered a step in the international consensus-building process that should culminate with the signing of a global climate convention. It was sponsored by WMO, UNEP, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and its Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the International Council of Scientific Unions.

A 14-page Final Statement containing recommendations and conclusions of the scientific/technical sessions was also issued.

## Other action

In other action taken on 21 December, the Assembly reaffirmed that a moratorium should be imposed on all large-scale pelagic driftnet fishing on the high seas by 30 June 1992. Immediate action should be taken to reduce progressively the phenomenon of drifnet fishing activities in the South Pacific region, leading to its cessation by 1 July 1991. Further expansion of large-scale pelagic driftnet fishing on the high seas of the North Pacific and all the other high seas should immediately cease, the Assembly reiterated.

"All individuals are entitled to live in an environment adequate for their health and well-being", the Assembly stated as it asked the Commission on Human Rights to continue studying "the problems of the environment and its relation to human rights". An analytical study on the relation between environmental issues and international trade was requested from the UN Conference on Trade and Development.

# Development Strategy for 1990s aims to reverse economic and social decline

The International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade (1991-2000)—a plan for accelerated economic and social progress and strengthened international co-operation—aims to reverse the slow growth, poverty and declining living standards experienced by much of the developing world during the 1980s.

The Strategy text blames widespread failure to meet the UN-set development goals of the past decade on "adverse and unanticipated developments in the world economy" which "wiped out the premises on which growth had been expected". The General Assembly launched the Strategy in a resolution *(45/199)* adopted by consensus on 21 December, on the recommendation of its Second Committee (Economic and Financial). Concurrently, it proclaimed the Decade, starting on 1 January 1991.

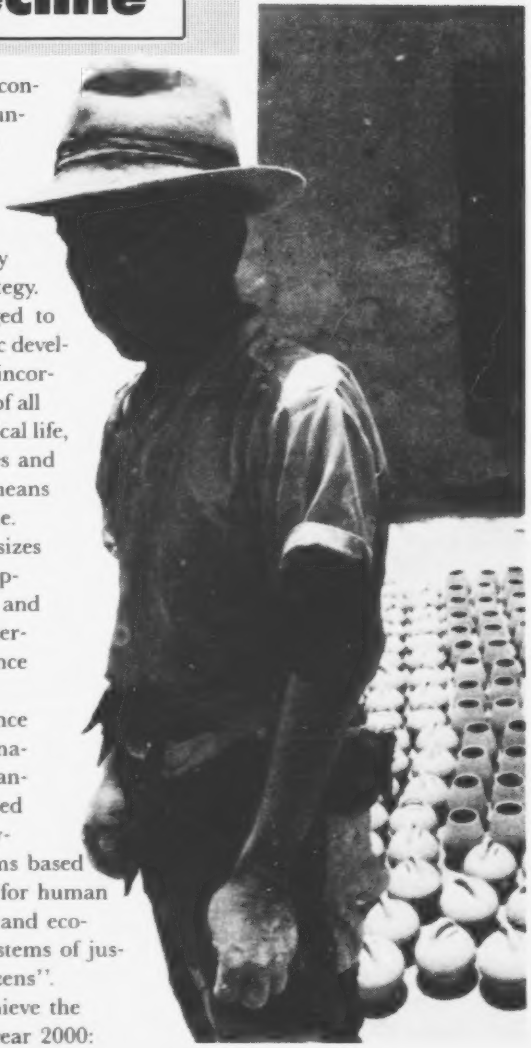
If major international and national policy changes are not forthcoming, the plan warns, the next decade could be much like the last one, characterized by "shrinking resource flows, declining commodity prices, rising interest rates and increasing barriers to market access", particularly in Africa and Latin America. It states that pressures on the economic and social fabric of countries could lead to "economic distress and political and social instability", as evidenced by the "erosion of living standards and social services" which brought "mounting political unrest" to many countries during the 1980s.

Improving the human condition in developing countries, reducing the gap between rich and poor countries and avoiding environmental degradation are key elements of the new Strategy. Countries are encouraged to frame their own economic development policies and incorporate the participation of all men and women in political life, protect cultural identities and assure the "necessary means of survival" for everyone.

The new plan emphasizes human resources development, entrepreneurship and innovation, and the "energetic application" of science and technology.

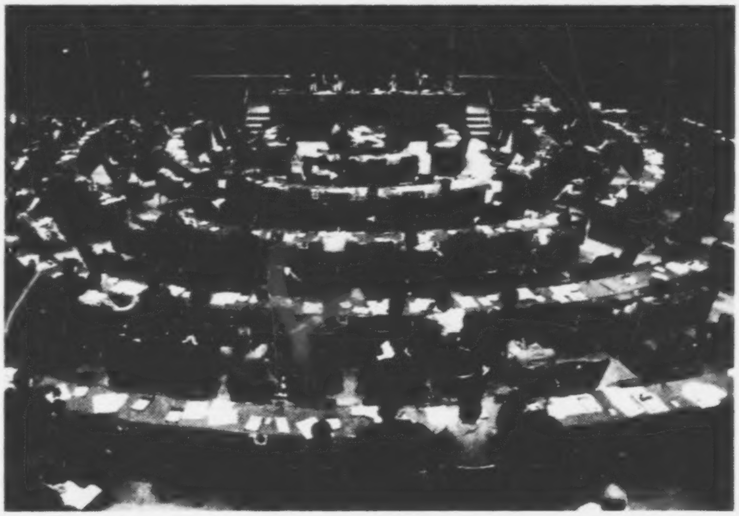
Reflecting the emergence of new priorities in international development planning, support is expressed for "the evolution everywhere of political systems based on consent and respect for human rights, as well as social and economic rights, and of systems of justice that protect all citizens".

The plan aims to achieve the following goals by the year 2000: a surge in the pace of economic growth in developing countries; the framing of a development process which reduces poverty, promotes the enhancement and utilization of human resources and is environmentally sound and sustainable; improvement in the international money, finance and trade systems; creation of greater stability in the world economy; strengthening of international development co-operation; and attraction of special attention to the problems of the least developed countries (LDCs).



UN Photo 155216/J. Isaac

The text proposes methods of reactivating development at the national level through "determined policies" on economic policy frame-



UN Photo 176672/J. Isaac

Second Committee at work on the Strategy.

works, external debt, finance, international trade, commodities, science and technology, industry and agriculture.

## A better climate for development

The plan states that a potential decline in world-wide military spending could reduce strains on national economies and allow for the "application of larger resources to the fight against world poverty". Also noted is the "growing convergence of views" on effective approaches to economic and social development and the "potential contributions to the development process" of private and public sectors, of individuals and enterprises and of democratic rights and freedoms.

Members of the Strategy's preparatory committee—which included developed and developing countries, UN bodies and specialized agencies and intergovernmental organizations—remarked upon their often difficult negotiations, completed in October 1990 after four sessions held during 1989 and 1990. While the Group of 77 developing countries said they would have preferred a "greater commitment" by the developed countries, some of the latter group said areas such as human development and the environment had not been adequately treated. However, after its completion, most delegations expressed satisfaction with the final document and the achievement of consensus.

Preparatory Committee chairman, Gamani Corea, former Secretary-General of the UN Conference on Trade and Development, said on 28 September that the Strategy had great political value, particularly at this time of "uncertainty" for many countries.

## Past strategies met with little success

The new Strategy is the third launched by the UN, with the previous two accompanying the Second (1970s) and Third (1980s) Development Decades. Economic growth and development assistance targets designated by those strategies were for the most part unattained.

Calls by developing countries for a new international economic order during the late 1970s were reflected in the Strategy for the 1980s, which aimed to eradicate poverty and dependence, redistribute global wealth and, in turn, create a more stable and safer world. Global economic recession dampened the plan's expectations, which some countries later said had been politically unrealistic.

Ole Kristian Holthe of Norway, speaking on behalf of the Nordic countries, told the Second Committee on 29 October that the new Strategy had "a basic set of political guidelines" of a more permanent nature than the prior plan, as well as a list of flexible goals and priorities which could be periodically updated.

The new Strategy will be reviewed on a biennial basis by the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council. Events in the Gulf region, which occurred just before the plan was finalized, are singled out as having repercussions on the immediate economic outlook of many countries, particularly relating to trade and energy balances.

## A vote on entrepreneurship

The Assembly adopted several resolutions on 21 December relating to topics addressed by the Strategy.

It voted to encourage the development of entrepreneurship in all countries, including in those which seek to develop or revitalize their economies through free enterprise and market opportunities. Resolution 45/188—one of only two actions recommended by the Second Committee that failed to achieve a consensus—was adopted by a vote of 138 in favour to 1 against (Cuba).

Human resources development in a context of political freedom, popular participation, respect for

UNHCR Photo/18053/04.1988

**The development of human resources is an integral part of the new strategy.**

human righs, justice and equity—a key element of the new Strategy—was emphasized by the Assembly as "essential to economic growth and development".

In another action, the Assembly asked that structural adjustment programmes contain measures for long-term and sustained development, thus helping to improve human and social conditions in developing countries.

The Assembly urged support for the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities, which aims to improve the functioning of markets through commodity agreements.

## Support urged for Africa's economic recovery

An *ad hoc* committee to prepare the final review and appraisal of the implementation of the UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-1990 was established by the Assembly on 19 December. The Assembly urged the highest possible representation on the committee, which would recommend measures for Africa's growth and development beyond 1991. It also asked the Secretary-General to include proposals on how to support Africa's efforts at diversification, including the means of mobilizing sufficient resources. The international community was requested to assist Africa's efforts in bringing about sustained and sustainable development, taking into account the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation.

In related news, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) declared its third replenishment effective as of 24 December. That replenishment had been approved in June 1989 at the level of $570 million for a three-year period. Some 30 per cent of IFAD's regular programme resources have been allocated to sub-Saharan Africa over the last 13 years.

## Other action

The Assembly asked the Economic and Social Council to hold an informal meeting in 1991 on the report of the South Commission—*The Challenge to the South*—an independent study on the future of developing countries; emphasized the importance of poverty eradication; approved the addition of Liberia to the list of LDCs and suggested that Namibia be added; encouraged island developing countries to adopt integrated development policies; and emphasized the need for technical co-operation in the areas of food, agriculture and energy resources.

Other Assembly actions urged international co-operation to develop African fisheries, reviewed proposals on safe water and sanitation, encouraged support for industrial development in developing countries and asked for an increase in financial contributions to development activities.

The 1990 UN Pledging Conference for Development Activities ended on 2 November with a total of some $1.8 billion in actual and anticipated pledges, a significant increase in comparison to past years.

International assistance was requested for countries affected by adverse economic conditions or disasters, among them Angola, Chad, Haiti, Lebanon, Liberia, Mozambique, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen and a number of island developing countries. Sustained UN assistance to the Palestinian people, in close co-operation with the Palestine Liberation Organization, was approved.

# Council to examine effect of new East-West relations

## World economic growth slackens in 1990

The impact of new East-West relations on the world economy will be examined by the Economic and Social Council at a ministerial level during 1991. Reflecting widespread concern that resources earmarked for developing countries will be diverted to Eastern European countries as they join the international market, the General Assembly requested the special meeting in resolution 45/182, adopted by consensus on 21 December.

In trade-related action, the Assembly encouraged continuation of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade talks. Negotiations reached an impasse over the subject of agricultural farm subsidies during meetings in Brussels in December.

The Trade and Development Board of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) adopted in October the agenda for UNCTAD VIII to be held from 21 September to 8 October 1991.

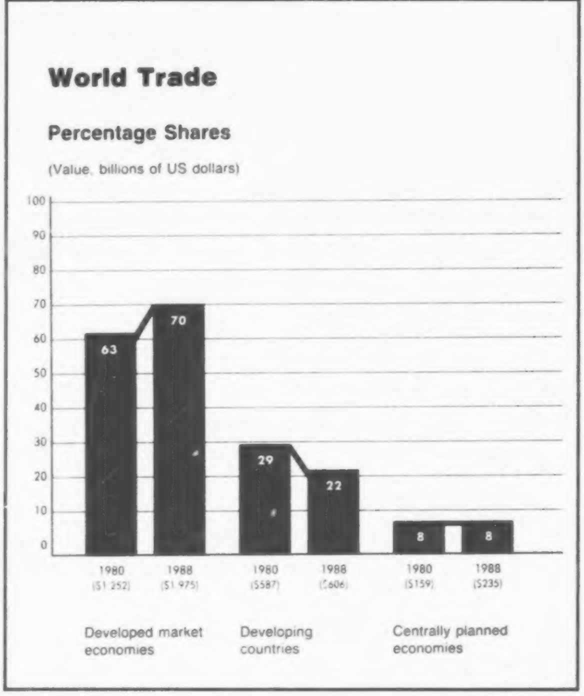
Progress in the completion of draft codes of conduct on the transfer of technology and on transnational corporations was also sought by the Assembly.

### Erosion of post-war economic order

In a presentation of a year-end review of the world economy, P. Goran Ohlin, Assistant Secretary-General for Development Research and Policy Analysis, said on 19 December that although the oil shock and the Middle East crisis had been very much on people's minds, the "drastic" slow-down in the world economy had been affected more by the disarray in Eastern Europe and the slow-down of the Chinese economy, in addition to the anti-inflation policies of monetary stringency in the industrialized world.

The UN report, *The World Economy at the End of 1990: Short-Term Prospects and Emerging Issues*, states that the per capita output of the world declined for the first time since 1982, as overall global output grew by only 1 per cent in 1990.

The current system of international economic relations is in a process of fundamental transformation, the report warns, with the features of the post-Second World War economic order having "disappeared or eroded" under the impact of globalization of the world economy and the demise of central planning. The structure of a new system to replace it remains "unclear".



**World Trade**

**Percentage Shares**

(Value, billions of US dollars)

## Radical Soviet economic reforms urged

A joint study of the Soviet Union's economy, released in December 1990, urges radical economic reforms and clarification of the division of responsibilities in that country between the union and the republics for a successful transition to a market economy. The report, conducted by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, was requested by the Group of Seven industrialized nations at the Houston Economic Summit held on 11 July 1990.

The 51-page study—*The Economy of the USSR*—urges Soviet authorities to "move rapidly" towards a market economy and address the issues of stabilization and structural reform simultaneously. "A very sharp reduction" in the general government's deficit is urged, along with "rapid and comprehensive" freeing of prices, trade liberalization, establishment of private ownership rights and the elimination of controls which prevent competition.

# Assembly unites on debt crisis

For the first time since 1986, the General Assembly on 21 December achieved agreement by consensus on the debt crisis of developing countries. In a 20-paragraph resolution *(45/214)* recommended for adoption by its Second Committee (Economic and Financial), the Assembly called for immediate action to find a "durable, equitable and mutually agreed growth and development-oriented solution" to the problem.

The Assembly asked that debt-relief initiatives be strengthened and broadened to include all categories of debt and debtor developing countries, especially the least developed. It also urged lenders to forgive official debt owed by low-income countries.

During its three-day debate on the topic, almost all speakers told the Committee that the problem of external debt was one of the major economic challenges of the 1990s. Several speakers called for a more favourable international economic environment; others emphasized the need for continued domestic reform programmes. Representatives of several African countries repeated a call for a special international conference on the problems of African debtor countries.

## A 'deep-rooted' malaise

Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar told the Committee on 30 October that the continuing debt crisis reflected "a deep-rooted malaise in international economic and financial relationships".

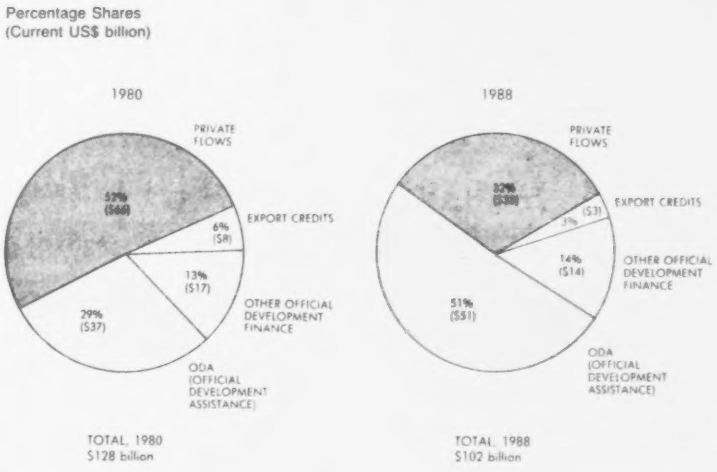
The Assembly urged multilateral financial institutions to help mobilize additional assistance for the most seriously affected developing countries and provide more support for debt and debt-service reduction packages.

In an October 1990 report on the recent evolution of the international debt strategy *(A/45/656)*, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar concluded that it was impossible to foresee the full economic consequences of events in the Persian Gulf and their impact on debtor countries. So far, progress made in the implementation of the debt strategy had been "limited", he stated, and had not led to the restoration of "normal creditor-debtor relations, external viability or robust growth" in most highly indebted countries.

In a related action, the Assembly on 21 December requested the Secretary-General to include an update in the UN *World Economic Survey 1991* on causes and factors of the net transfer of resources from developing to developed countries, which amounted to some $35 billion in 1989.

In another October report *(A/45/487)*, the Secretary-General stated that developing countries were being transformed into net exporters of financial resources "long before reaching commensurate levels of development".

**Dwindling Finance**



**Net Financial Flows to Developing Countries**

Source: Development Co-operation in the 1990s, OECD, 1989.

# Craxi: Proposals on debt relief

UN Photo 176950/M. Grant

Mr. Craxi *(left)* with the Secretary-General.

All creditors—banks, Governments and multilateral institutions—must participate in extricating developing countries and regions from the debt crisis. That was the conclusion of Italy's former Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, as he presented his 36-page report *(A/45/380)* to the General Assembly's Second Committee on 23 October. Mr. Craxi, appointed in December 1989 as the Secretary-General's Personal Representative on Debt, spent several months consulting with Government leaders of creditor and debtor countries, and with heads of financial institutions and banks, in order to come up with proposals to promote the speedy and effective lowering of the developing world's estimated $1.3 trillion debt burden.

A key item supports the strengthening of the Brady initiative, a set of proposals launched in April 1989 by United States Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady to reduce commercial debt owed by middle-income developing countries. Mr. Craxi proposes the creation of an agency within the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund which would work in conjunction with regional banks to provide more resources.

He outlines a systemic approach to debt relief. Countries are grouped by annual per capita income. For low-income countries with per capita incomes up to $545, he urges "new forms of debt forgiveness", such as total debt write-offs of official development assistance (ODA) for the poorest countries, conversion of non-concessional bilateral debt into longer-term credits on lenient terms and increased financial resources of concessional facilities of the international financial institutions. The report suggests channelling service payments on long-term credits into trust funds in indexed local currencies for environment and human resource development projects.

Lower middle-income countries, debtors with per capita incomes between $545 and $1,300, could benefit, the report states, from debt reduction under the Brady initiative, the long-term (30- or 40-year) rescheduling of bilateral loans and the setting-up of project-related trust funds. Mr. Craxi suggests that increased concessional lending and an expanded role for regional banks, including the possible creation of a new Mediterranean area development bank, could also assist this group.

Conversion of non-concessional bilateral assistance, strengthening of the Brady initiative and concessional lending would also provide debt relief to middle-income countries with per capita incomes of $1,300 to $6,000.

For indebted countries with industrial assets or natural resources, the report supports "swapping" debt for local investments.

## Governments urged to act

Mr. Craxi, suggesting that Governments can play a major role in resolving the debt crisis, points out that commercial loans covered only half of the overall long-term debts in 1989: $465 billion as compared with $466 billion owed to official creditors, with less than half of the latter amount loaned by multilateral financial institutions.

Developed countries are urged to attain the previously-set target of 0.7 per cent of gross domestic product in ODA—a doubling of the estimated present rate—to guarantee an adequate flow of public funds for developing countries. Mr. Craxi supports the continuation of a case-by-case approach to debt relief, while encouraging a "clear distinction" between different categories of debt. To spur commercial debt reduction, he supports revision of tax and accounting regulations to favour those creditor banks which reduce interest and provide new financial flows to developing countries.

Debtors would also participate through the implementation of national adjustment policies which are selective, growth-oriented and pay special attention to less favoured groups.

The countries of Eastern Europe—several of which are heavily indebted—must receive financial backing, the report states, as a means of preventing "serious shocks" during their transition to market economies. Mr. Craxi urges debt relief to the region through innovative financing options and the conversion of debt into shares of privatized companies.

UN Photo 148004/J.P. Laffont

**A proposal for trust funds financed with debt service payments could benefit environment and human resource projects in developing countries.**

## World Bank notes progress on debt

In its annual two-volume report on debt—*World Debt Tables: 1990-1991*—the World Bank deems the debt crisis "somewhat less severe" than in 1988, but "not over".

The report estimates that total external debt of all developing countries reached some $1.34 trillion by the end of 1990, an increase of about 6 per cent during the course of one year. The rise is attributed to a projected increase in net lending flows and the substantial appreciation in the dollar value of the non-dollar debt stock.

Nevertheless, the World Bank cites progress: the reduction of some commercial bank debt in severely indebted middle-income countries through the Brady initiative; the easing of terms for rescheduling of "official" debt to Governments and multilateral institutions; the continuation of other debt-relief programmes and restructuring; and the strong export performance of some countries.

The Middle East crisis, however, presented an important short-term problem for many developing countries, according to the 19 December report, with foreign exchange losses resulting from declining workers' remittances, trade disruptions and a drop in tourism.

Despite the boon to exporters, higher oil prices could make it even more difficult for developing countries to service their debt, the report states. Low-income debtors, whose actual debt service in recent years had been about 40 per cent of the scheduled amount, would be hardest hit.

# United Nations financial situation still 'extremely fragile'

For the first time since 1986, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar in November had been obliged to borrow from peace-keeping funds to meet cash requirements in respect of regular budget obligations.

On 6 December, the Secretary-General reported *(A/45/830)* that throughout 1990, most of the cash reserves—the Working Capital Fund and the Special Account—had to be drawn upon heavily and repeatedly to meet current operating requirements, because of the shortfall in contribution payments. The possibility of imminent bankruptcy, he stated, had been a source of grave concern to him.

The General Assembly on 21 December urged all Member States to meet their financial obligations under the UN Charter by paying promptly and in full all assessed contributions.

The Assembly reiterated Member States' legal obligation to finance the UN expenses as apportioned by the General Assembly. The Secretary-General was asked to encourage them to pay expeditiously and in full all outstanding assessments.

Some $290 million—35.1 per cent of 1990's total regular budget assessments of $826.8 million—remained unpaid as of 30 November, the Secretary-General reported. Together, with arrears of $117.3 million for prior years, the total outstanding assessed contributions amounted to $407.3 million.

It was expected that at the end of 1990, the Organization would have only $73.4 million in cash in its reserves, leaving a deficit in the reserves of some $148.6 million. At the same time, unpaid assessed contributions were expected to remain at $390.7 million.

The UN's expanding responsibilities for peace-making and peace-keeping had placed additional strains on the already "precarious" financial situation of the Organization, the Secretary-General stressed. Insolvency might be avoided during 1991, but only by using its reserves to meet cash requirements.

The Organization's financial situation would continue to be "extremely fragile" so long as its reserves were not fully funded. Should any additional demands for cash requirements arise because of existing or new peace-keeping operations, or the negative impact of acute currency fluctuations or inflation, the financial situation could "deteriorate rapidly and dramatically".

# Activities plan adopted for International Law Decade

A five-part, 26-paragraph programme of activities for the UN Decade of International Law (1990-1999) was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on 28 November *(45/40)*. The plan focuses on the first three-year period of the decade, ending in 1992.

Among other things, Decade activities will include: assistance to developing countries in the process of multilateral treaty-making; intensive study by regional and international groups of ways to identify, prevent and contain disputes; greater recognition of the role, and wider use, of the World Court; and promotion of new courses, academic seminars and publications relating to international law.

It was one of 13 texts—11 resolutions and 2 decisions—recommended after debate by the Sixth Committee (Legal), including a condemnation of acts of violence against diplomatic and consular missions.

In other action, the Assembly called for wider acceptance of the Protocols Additional to the 1949 Geneva Conventions and relating to the protection of victims of armed conflict, and to more effective measures to safeguard diplomatic and consular missions and their representatives.

The International Law Commission was asked to further consider the establishment of an international criminal court in connection with its continuing work on a draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind.

Work was to be finalized on a draft handbook on the peaceful settlement of disputes between States. Further consideration would be given to draft articles on the status of the diplomatic courier and the diplomatic bag not accompanied by diplomatic courier, and draft UN rules of conciliation for disputes between States. Elaboration of an additional protocol on consular functions to the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 24 April 1963 was to be considered.

States were asked to become parties to conventions drawn up under the auspices of the UN Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL).

# ASSEMBLY ALMANAC

## New UN High Commissioner for Refugees

The General Assembly elected Sadako Ogata of Japan, a diplomat, author and professor of international relations, to serve a three-year term as UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), beginning 1 January 1991. She succeeds Thorvald Stoltenberg a national of Norway. Since its creation in 1950, UNHCR has handled situations involving more than 20 million refugees worldwide.

At its forty-fifth session, the Assembly dealt with a number of refugee matters, including those in Central America, Cambodia, and southern Africa.

On 19 October in Geneva, the UN Disaster Relief Co-ordinator presented a regional plan of action to cope with new waves of evacuees from Iraq and Kuwait, which the Secretary-General's Personal Representative, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, said aimed to ensure appropriate and timely relief assistance for third-country nationals likely to transit through Jordan, Iran or Syria.

## Sovereignty of Comoros over Mayotte reaffirmed

Reaffirming the sovereignty of the Comoros over the island of Mayotte, the General Assembly on 1 November urged France to accelerate the process of negotiations with Comoros to ensure the "effective and prompt" return of the island to the Comoros. Resolution 45/11 was adopted by a vote of 118 to 1 (France) with 30 abstentions. France, which had objected to the inclusion of this item on the Assembly agenda, said that it was none the less still committed to finding a peaceful solution.

## Universal participation in Law of Sea Convention

The General Assembly on 14 December invited States to make renewed efforts to facilitate universal participation in the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. States were asked to ratify or accede to the Convention at the earliest date to allow the effective entry into force of the new legal régime for the uses of the sea and its resources. In adopting resolution 45/145, the Assembly called on States to safeguard the unified character of the Convention and related resolutions.

## Food for the future

At a special ceremony in observance of World Food Day (16 October)—with the theme "Food for the Future"—Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar said that there were now "more hungry people than ever before in human history". He warned that the world would have to feed an additional 1 billion people by the year 2000 and that the situation would worsen unless hunger's root causes were addressed.

UNICEF Photo/S. Satyan

## Five elected to World Court

Five judges were elected to nine-year terms on the International Court of Justice, beginning on 6 February 1991, in separate actions taken by the General Assembly and the Security Council on 15 December. They are Andrés Aguilar Mawdsley of Venezuela, Gilbert Guillaume of France and Sir Robert Yewdall Jennings of the United Kingdom, elected for the first time, and Christopher Gregory Weeramantry of Sri Lanka and Raymond Ranjeva of Madagascar, who were re-elected.

# Chronicle BookWatch

## A World in Need of Leadership: Tomorrow's United Nations

Brian Urquhart and Erskine Childers
Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and Ford Foundation
Uppsala, Sweden, 1990
111 pp., ISBN 91-85214-16-7

Arguing that the UN and its member Governments "are, in the long run, best served by an impartial, independent and imaginative Secretary-General with both the courage of his convictions and the common sense to avoid unnecessary difficulties", the authors call for a single seven-year term of office and a well-organized search and review procedure. Messrs. Urquhart and Childers, with decades of UN service between them, detail the essential elements of an improved process in which the qualifications and suitability of candidates are carefully weighed, women considered in comparable numbers to men, and individual campaigning for the office prohibited. The authors make proposals for choosing the future leadership of specialized agencies, UN funds and programmes, as well as the senior echelon of the Secretariat. With its discussion papers and statistics, this study could have a major impact on the selection of the next Secretary-General if UN members act now to implement its recommendations.

## The Kuwait Crisis: Basic Documents

Cambridge International Documents Series, Vol. 1
Edited by E. Lauterpacht, C. J. Greenwood,
Marc Weller and Daniel Bethlehem
Grotius Publications Ltd., Cambridge, 1991
330 pp., $70. ISBN 0-949009-86-5

How the creators of this book brought together in so timely a fashion the documentation concerning the crisis in Kuwait may well be a publishing miracle. While the bulk of the edition consists of public UN documents through November 1990, agreements and memoranda from the 19th and 20th centuries about claims to the territory of Kuwait are included. Other chapters provide the documents on the implementation of sanctions, naval and aerial interdiction, the protection of people and property in Iraq and Kuwait, and peace proposals. This and a scheduled companion volume on the sanctions and their economic consequences will soon become a basic reference.

## The Challenge to the South: The Report of the South Commission

Oxford University Press, New York, 1990
325 pp., ISBN 0-19-877311-0

Established in 1987, the South Commission ends its three-year term with the publication of a remarkable report that analyses the current situation of the South, offers a vision of its future and outlines what needs to be done to achieve rapid and sustained economic growth in the context of people-oriented development. Chairman Julius Kambarage Nyerere, former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, sees its origins in the "recognition within the South that developing countries have many problems and much experience in common, but that no one in the South was responsible for looking at these things in a comprehensive manner, or at the lessons about appropriate development strategies which could be drawn from them". He states: "Responsibility for the development of the South lies in the South, and in the hands of the peoples of the South."

## Making Women Matter: The Role of the United Nations

Hilkka Pietilä and Jeanne Vickers
Zed Books, London, 1990
177 pp., $15. ISBN 0-86232-969-8 (Paperback)

Here is an example of how a modest work of historical analysis can clarify and illuminate a subject and help to move it forward. By tracing the origins and outcomes of the UN Decade for Women (1976-1985), the authors show what has been achieved in a relatively short period, what remains to be done and how to do it. They see the adoption in 1985 of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women towards the year 2000 as a UN turning-point.

The World Survey on the Role of Women in Development, a basic document at the Nairobi conference, concluded that development would better reflect essential human needs if a female perspective guided economic theories, as well as policies and planning. Advances in feminist thinking on equality, development, environment and peace, the authors rightly agree, have made it "essential that women's voice is heard equally with men's, and that they have equal opportunities to contribute to planning, design, decision-making and implementation of development in their countries". At issue is the well-being of humankind, for "the interests of women are the interests of human beings, of children and of the whole human family, including men".

## The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria

Mostafa El-Abbadi
United Nations Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
Paris, 1990. 250 pp., $12.50. ISBN 92-3-102632-1

The story of the great library of Alexandria and its destruction in 48 B.C. as a consequence of war provides Professor El-Abbadi of the University of Kuwait with themes recent events make painfully relevant. "For well over a millennium", he writes, "the scholarly achievements of ancient Alexandria served as guiding lights for scholars of medieval Islam and Christendom, as well as for the great humanists of the European Renaissance." Skillfully, he pieces together the few bits of available information to develop his account of "the first universal library in the history of mankind". The Project for the Revival of the Ancient Library of Alexandria, undertaken by UNESCO at the request of the Government of Egypt with financial support from UNDP, will create an international centre for the history and culture of the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Professor El-Abbadi's illustrated pocket-size book underscores the appropriateness of the Project.

## Population and Human Rights

UN Department of International Economic
and Social Affairs
United Nations, New York, 1990
230 pp., ST/ESA/SER.R/107

Questions about rights to life, health care, liberty and death with dignity are some of the most important in our time. They were among those considered by the expert group meeting on population and human rights held in Geneva in April 1989. The discussion and background papers collected there show the experts grappling with the human rights aspects of contraception, family planning, abortion, fertility policies, new biotechnologies, AIDS, terminal illness and euthanasia, population aging and intergenerational equity. Twelve recommendations adopted by the meeting call on the UN system, Governments and NGOs to foster research, discussion, education and action in population and human rights affairs—objectives well served by the publication of this comprehensive and timely book.

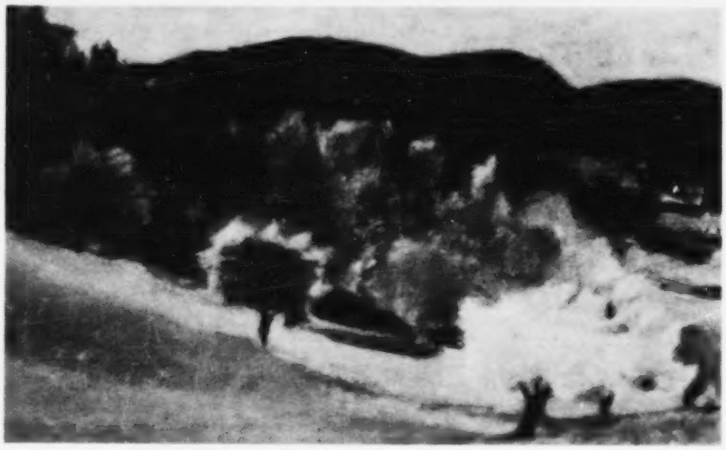
**Reviewed by Harold Fruchtbaum,**
**Professor, Columbia Unversity, New York**

## UN Stamp Corner

An added enticement for collectors who favour UN stamps are the first day cachets and limited edition art prints produced by the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA).

The WFUNA philatelic programme is designed to spread knowledge and hope through art, according to its Director, Annabelle Wiener. "It's our raison d'etre to promote the aims and ideals of the UN", she says.

On 16 November 1990, WFUNA issued a first-day cover featuring a beautiful landscape in shades of yellow, purple, green and blue, entitled "Hillside in Early Summer". Created by a leading American contemporary landscape painter Wolf Kahn, the cover was designed to accompany the UN Postal Administration stamp issue of November 1990, commemorating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.



For further information and order forms, contact Annabelle Wiener, WFUNA Director at UN Headquarters, Room DC1-1177, United Nations, New York 10017, Tel. (212) 963-5610.

# Coming Up. . .

A preview of some important United Nations conferences and events

## April—June 1991

### New York

| | |
|---|---|
| 4-19 April | Committee on Information, 13th session |
| 10-19 April | Commission on Transnational Corporations, 17th session |
| 15-19 April | *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean |
| 22 April-3 May | Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development |
| 22 April-13 May | Disarmament Commission |
| 6-31 May | Trusteeship Council, 58th session |
| 7-31 May | Economic and Social Council, 1st regular session |
| 13-17 May | United Nations Institute for Training and Research—Board of Trustees, 29th session |
| 28-31 May | High-level Committee on Review of Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, 7th session |
| 3-28 June | United Nations Development Programme—Governing Council, 38th session |
| 17 June | International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa |

### Geneva

| | |
|---|---|
| 8-12 April | Preparatory Committee for the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction |
| 22-26 April | Board of Trustees of the Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Populations |
| 22 April-3 May | Committee against Torture, 6th session |
| 29 April-19 July | International Law Commission, 43rd session |
| 6-17 May | World Health Organization—World Health Assembly, 44th session |
| May | World Meteorological Organization—11th World Meteorological Congress |
| 5-26 June | International Labour Organisation—General Conference, 78th session |

### Vienna

| | |
|---|---|
| 13-17 May | Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, 40th session |
| 27 May—7 June | International Narcotics Control Board, 49th session |
| 10-28 June | Commission on International Trade Law, 24th session |

### Other Locations

| | |
|---|---|
| 3-5 April | International Fund for Agricultural Development—Executive Board, 42nd session, Rome |
| 29 April-8 May | Commission on Human Settlements, 13th session, Harare, Zimbabwe |
| April | Universal Postal Union—Executive Council, Berne |
| 20-31 May | United Nations Environment Programme--Governing Council, 16th session, Nairobi |
| 27 May-7 June | Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, 34th session, Graz, Austria |
| 27 May-28 June | International Civil Aviation Organization—Council, 133rd session, Montreal |
| 10-21 June | Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations—Council, 99th session, Rome |
| June | International Maritime Organization—Council, 66th session, London |

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# Membership of Principal United Nations Organs in 1991

## General Assembly

The General Assembly is composed of all 159 United Nations Member States:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, *Argentina, *Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, *Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, *Bolivia, Botswana, *Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, *Byelorussian SSR, Cambodia, Cameroon, *Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, *Chile, *China, *Colombia, Comoros, Congo, *Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, *Cuba, Cyprus, *Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, *Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, *Dominican Republic, *Ecuador, *Egypt, *El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, *Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, *France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, *Greece, Grenada, *Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, *Haiti, *Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, *India, Indonesia, *Iran, *Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, *Lebanon, Lesotho, *Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, *Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, *Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, *Netherlands, *New Zealand, *Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, *Norway, Oman, Pakistan, *Panama, Papua New Guinea, *Paraguay, *Peru, *Philippines, *Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, *Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, *South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, *Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, *Turkey, Uganda, *Ukrainian SSR, *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, *United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, *United States, *Uruguay, Vanuatu, *Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, *Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Founding Member

## Security Council

The Security Council has 15 members. The Charter has designated five States as permanent members, and the General Assembly elects 10 other members for two-year terms. The term of office of each non-permanent member of the Council ends on 31 December of the year indicated in parentheses below.

The five permanent members of the Security Council are: China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom, the United States.

The 10 non-permanent members of the Security Council in 1991 are: Austria (1992), Belgium (1992), Côte d'Ivoire (1991), Cuba (1991), Ecuador (1992), India (1992), Romania (1991), Yemen (1991), Zaire (1991) and Zimbabwe (1992).

## Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council has 54 members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly. The term of office for each member expires on 31 December of the year indicated in parentheses below. In 1991, the Council is composed of the following 54 States:

Algeria (1992), Argentina (1993), Austria (1993), Bahamas (1991), Bahrain (1992), Botswana (1993), Brazil (1991), Bulgaria (1992), Burkina Faso (1992), Cameroon (1991), Canada (1992), Chile (1993), China (1992), Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (1991), Ecuador (1992), Finland (1992), France (1993), Germany (1993), Guinea (1993), Indonesia (1991), Iran (1992), Iraq (1991), Italy (1991), Jamaica (1992), Japan (1993), Jordan (1991), Kenya (1991), Malaysia (1993), Mexico (1992), Morocco (1993), Netherlands (1991), New Zealand (1991), Nicaragua (1991), Niger (1991), Pakistan (1992), Peru (1993), Romania (1992), Rwanda (1992), Somalia (1993), Spain (1993), Sweden (1992), Syrian Arab Republic (1993), Thailand (1991), Togo (1993), Trinidad and Tobago (1993), Tunisia (1991), Turkey (1993), Ukrainian SSR (1991), USSR (1992), United Kingdom (1992), United States (1991), Yugoslavia (1993), Zaire (1992), Zambia (1991).

## Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council has five members. One member, the United States, administers the Trust Territory of Palau. The non-administering members—China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom—are the other four permanent members of the Security Council. China does not participate in the work of the Trusteeship Council.

## International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice has 15 members, elected by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. Judges hold nine-year terms, which end on 5 February of the year indicated in parentheses below.

The Judges, listed in their official order of precedence, are:

Manfred Lachs of Poland (1994), Taslim Olawale Elias of Nigeria (1994), Shigeru Oda of Japan (1994), Roberto Ago of Italy (1997), Stephen M. Schwebel of the United States (1997), Sir Robert Y. Jennings of the United Kingdom (2000), Mohammed Bedjaoui of Algeria (1997), Ni Zhengyu of China (1994), Jens Evensen of Norway (1994), Nikolai K. Tarassov of the USSR (1997), Gilbert Guillaume of France (2000), Mohamed Shahabuddeen of Guyana (1997), Andres Aguilar of Venezuela (2000), Raymond Ranjeva of Madagascar (2000) and Christopher Gregory Weeramantry of Sri Lanka (2000).

Courtesy of

UN Chronicle